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### HISTORY

H. H. LAMB  
*Climate History and the Modern World*  
307pp. Methuen. £8.95.  
041633430X

As a historian of climate - though he is by training and profession a meteorologist - H. H. Lamb starts by asserting something which was long denied: the climate had, in the last twenty years ago, been stable, or become so, since the sixth millennium ac. Lamb makes this notion of "fixity" just as he challenges that of a "normal period" which is supposedly representative of the average meteorology of a given region: for a long time, specialists considered as "normal" the twenty-year periods from 1901 to 1930 and 1931 to 1960. In fact, these groups of three decades were the warmest experienced for many years and cannot therefore be considered to fall within the "norm".

At the same time, Lamb discreetly qualifies some of the more sweeping claims, for example, that the industrial revolution in economic and material

terms is not, in theory, the result of examination of climatic variations since these effects the "normal" base of society, "beneath" the economy. As for the ideas of Montesquieu, they may explain civilization, or its decline, by the climate of the region in question, but need to be seen in a looser perspective: "civilized" climates have indeed flourished in temperate climates, but also in the tropical city of Singapore (cooled, locally, by office air-conditioning).

Every historian must first tackle the problem of his sources, and Lamb is no exception in this respect. For his sources, he is, in fact, a pioneer, and his work is a pioneer's work. For his sources, he is, in fact, a pioneer, and his work is a pioneer's work. For his sources, he is, in fact, a pioneer, and his work is a pioneer's work.

On the other hand, over those ten millennia, for reasons which are easy to understand, the melting of the ice did involve a rise in sea level: the sea level rose about 7000 ac and the present outline of the French, German and British coasts was more or less fixed around 5000 ac (forewell to the reindoor of Hamburg and to the Copernican tundra). The post-glacial ice was well documented, year by year, since the start of the fourteenth century and gave a considerable amount of information. The same is

true of tree-rings: their annual growth in dry or semi-desert regions is proportional to the humidity occurring in a particular year. Records of events (successions of cold or mild winters, for example), are highly informative, though this is by no means always the case. Through them, Easton and his colleagues established the existence in the second half of the sixteenth century of the fall in temperature which preceded the great advance of the Alpine glaciers, around 1595-1600; the same evidence also allowed Christian Pfister to make a proper study of the Swiss climate in the eighteenth century. Pollen series in peat-bogs are significant for prehistoric climates, but not from the neolithic onwards, when they were disturbed by land clearance which destroyed trees and replaced their pollen by those of crops with the "invention" of agriculture. Variations in the price of corn, on the other hand, may be variously caused, so graphs illustrating them should not be relied on too much as indicators of variations in climate, except in some obvious cases: the famine of 1709, for example, was directly attributable to the celebrated cold winter in that year.

Lamb boldly starts his survey with the great ice ages. The last recorded of these began gradually 115,000 to 90,000 years ago, then, after some hesitations lasting for periods of between two and five thousand years, finally set in 70,000 years ago and lasted 30,000 years. A short cold snap, 10,800 years ago, lasted a mere six centuries, and started a few small glaciers in the Lake District. The melting of the ice over the past 10,000 years encouraged the beginnings of agriculture and stock-breeding, naturally enough, but cannot be seen as the prime mover in this respect: in Mesopotamia and Palestine, where wheat was first cultivated, glaciers never had any significance at all.

On the other hand, over those ten millennia, for reasons which are easy to understand, the melting of the ice did involve a rise in sea level: the sea level rose about 7000 ac and the present outline of the French, German and British coasts was more or less fixed around 5000 ac (forewell to the reindoor of Hamburg and to the Copernican tundra). The post-glacial ice was well documented, year by year, since the start of the fourteenth century and gave a considerable amount of information. The same is

But historians remain cautious about this: the *naïve* conclusion of a cycle of economic growth which started in the eleventh century, culminating around 1300, and the appalling disasters of the late Middle Ages (Black Death and other plagues from 1348, and the Hundred Years' War) were all so overwhelming in their effects that slight variations in climate can only have been decidedly secondary causes. Competition from the Bordeaux vineyards, which had begun to export their product to the British Isles, seems to have been so great that, whatever the climate, the unfortunate English wine-growers could but give in and replace their vines by cereals or pasture. The iron law of profit operated even in the fourteenth century!

Then came the little ice age, so clearly visible in the seventeenth century and affecting the years from roughly 1560 to 1850. Here Lamb is on much surer ground and his solid argument and erudition, supported by the recent discoveries of Christian Pfister, are highly impressive. It is no longer a question of mere conjecture, as in the case of fluctuations in temperature in England during the thirteenth century in many respects, this is an area of virtual certainties. Around 1600, the Alpine glaciers crushed the most exposed hamlets around Chamonix, marking the start of the new seventeenth-century cold spells which were to continue, though with "sunny intervals", until around 1850. Temperatures during the "bad" decades of the seventeenth century (the worst occurring in the 1690s) may have fallen to an annual average of 0.9°C below the norms for the warmer years 1520-1600. Cold winters and poor summers brought famine, killing off seeds and crops and affecting Scotland, France and Finland especially in the fatal decade of the 1690s. But even here, human agency and simple historical freedom do not lose their rights: English agriculture was already more technically advanced than that of France or Scotland, so the English escaped without too much harm. What was bad for Louis XIV was good for William of Orange.

It should be said at once that the little ice age was no more a single entity than the French Revolution was. There were fine, warm periods within it, for example the mild years 1710 to 1739, which coincided with the economic

revival in western Europe (admittedly also favoured by the inflow of new supplies of Brazilian gold, the end of the great wars and the political thaw which followed the death of Louis XIV). Once ended, these rises in temperature were followed by fresh disturbances, especially when accompanied by volcanic eruptions. Volcanic ash, projected into the atmosphere, intercepts the heat of the sun: in 1815, the eruption of Tambora in the East Indies produced a famine in the cold winter and wet summer of 1816-17 and glacial advances in the northern Alps.

As I have said, the recent warm period began in the 1850s and 1860s, and culminated in the 1940s. The mild west and south-west winds became more frequent in Britain from 1860 to 1960 and after 1900 British rivers froze over completely on many fewer occasions than previously. Rainfall was heavier than before over the interior of the old continent, and all the climatic regions (Arctic, temperate, subtropical) appeared to be shifting northwards, contracting around the North Pole. This led to a paradoxical consequence: the Antarctic region was also extending northwards, so that there was a precise correlation (0.75) between the increase in mild south-west winds in London and snowfall at the South Pole.

Since the 1950s and more especially in the 1960s, the rise virtually worldwide in temperature has given way once more to some reduction, as part of a more or less irregular cycle: in twenty years, we have lost two-tenths of a degree Centigrade on overall world averages.

A word now on the short and medium-term effects of these climatic variations (the long term is a complete mystery). Leaving aside Greenland and even Iceland, two countries where even a minimal fall in temperature such as occurred in the Middle Ages was enough to threaten an already extremely marginal agriculture and stock-breeding, it is evident that in the leading countries of western Europe (France, Germany, or offshore Scotland), cold winters and wet summers led to shortages. The effect of these on the price of grain could spread over several successive years, as happened during the cold period around and following 1770 in Switzerland (Christian Pfister). Such commonsense observations throw a

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## Cosmopolis from below

Valentine Cunningham

DJUNA BARNES

Smoke and Other Early Stories  
Edited with an Introduction by  
Douglas Messerli  
180pp. Sun and Moon Press. \$12.95  
(paperback, \$8.00).  
0 940650 177

Here are fourteen stories, startlingly strange, cranked even, but also as raw and exciting as swigs of potent. Cut from the dingier nooks of forgotten New York newspaper archives they inaugurate in arresting fashion the Sun and Moon Press's brave project to light up for us the murky early career of Djuna Barnes (*Nightwood*) Barnes. They date from 1914-16, when Djuna Barnes was in her early twenties, prodigiously busy spinning dramas, features, interviews, stories all over a host of New York rags: the *Eagle*, the *All Story Cavalier Weekly*, *The Trend*, the *New York Telegraph Sunday Magazine*, that kind of thing.

What in their compelling way these stories do in mythicizing cosmopolis, in its most muddled and grotesque modern manifestation, as the urbs of New York, New York. Even the tiny clutch of these fictions that are about Europe and country people, or about a century other than our own, read like modern New York fiction in potential: as if all earlier times and all other places were to be lived only as shadows of that coming Molochian real. Characteristically, when the Polish farmer Pontus marries off his daughter Thee — she of the inherited silver-cyphers, the visions of mother earth, the crippled feet: a ritualized object in helpless little boots, on a litter lifted with enkes and wine — the farmer does so in a story entitled "The Head of Babylon". For what Djuna Barnes goes after, relentlessly, even among those indecipherable Polish fields, are the flawed enticements offered by Old Testament Daniel's image of

apocalyptic Babylon — its head and breast of precious metals, its feet of clay. In other words she is infatuated by those Babylonian *frissons* of dread and delight which she is not alone in sating in the New York she knew.

The denizens of Djuna Barnes's "modern Babylon" are the poor employed of lower Manhattan, the sellers and buyers of lottery tickets, people only too familiar with early morning ferry-boats, who rely for love upon chance encounters on the stairs and in the street, who share back sinks, look out onto "interminable ranges" of tenements, inhabit "the odor of second-hand clothes", and who all seem to have hedonistic female relatives propping up the hedonists in the corners of their cramped rooms ("Her only family tie was a hard and uncompromising knot, a crippled mother, who hooped out the under side of a rose strewn coverlet, a living trellis"). Thinned by toil, lost among the nearly anonymous multitudes, these people have only stubs of names left, names whose former European polysyllables have been cut right back: Tash, Spave, Olau, Shrive, Freese, Karl, Monk, Swart, Dolk, Race.

Against such hunted existences, the signs some people have become, or the nicknames they've earned — Lilac Jane, Paprika Johnson, "The Terrible Poacock, The Physician" — begin to look like triumphs, even if rather grim triumphs, of assertive personality.

Douglas Messerli, who supplies a useful introduction to this volume, suggests that the types Djuna Barnes goes in for owe a lot to what newspaper readers expected of their storyteller. For instance in the *Daily Eagle* Miss Barnes did a series of twenty-four sketches called "Types Found in Odd Corners Round About Brooklyn". But readers of *The Secret Agent* will be reminded of The Professor and The Doggerel as well as The Secret Agent himself — and not just because Djuna Barnes appears to care as little for anarchists ("The Terrorists" as one of these stories calls them) as Joseph Conrad does. Like Conrad, and, for

that matter, like Brecht, Djuna Barnes recognizes that giving and owning up to nicknames, typing and self-typing, are necessary strategies of modern, urban knowledge and self-knowledge, and so of survival.

"She will make a great thing of it," the "great peasant father" suggests, stupidly confident as he waves goodbye to his just-married daughter in "The Head of Babylon". His wife's recognition that some effort might be needed rings rather truer: "You will find it difficult. You will have to invent a way of living." Inventing a way of living involves, for Djuna Barnes's people, inventing a way of naming. For Djuna Barnes herself, registering the New York way of living meant inventing a new way of writing.

The result is stickily obtrusive, a ripe and cheesy style that strives to be toughly and carelessly knowing — and, of course, is strikingly anticipatory of Raymond Chandler at his most wise-guy. This writing and these people, the implication is, must know their way around must command experience, be street-wise, if they're to stand any chance at all of getting by. The burden of such ranging wisdom is frequently carried by similes; Djuna Barnes's case is no exception. A author has "a breaking voice like a ferryboat coming in from Staten Island"; the moon abides through hair "like butter through mosquito netting"; a woman is "rigged out with a complexion like creamed coffee stood overnight".

Similes such as these flaunt their knowingness with obvious flash and clamourousness (and how much, and how oddly, exclamation marks get into this writing's life: beneath Lilac Jane's earnings, "as the periods beneath double exclamation points, floated a pair of green boots"; Paprika's paralyzed mother is "a white exclamation point this side of error"; "Some women as they grow old... go down life's pages an exclamation point"). But for all their exclamatory showiness the similes are to the end as most revelations of palios as of insight and power. For even at a brief glance

one is struck by how they command urban life mainly from below, locally and domestically; what they illustrate most is the knowledge of the politically helpless ones, the socially enfeebled, the poor (what price, in fact, a shrewdness about dirty coffee cups, pride-laden ferries, and unrefrigerated butter?).

Which is presumably why it turns out that however brave or self-sacrificing, wised-up or merely neighbourly people may contrive to be, they never evade what one of these stories calls "The Jest of Jest" — the perpetually hollow laugh of the city, its ironically galling traps and reversals. In a friendly move, headful Paprika Johnson swaps rooms for a few minutes with her ugly friend so that the friend's husband, just cured of his blindness, will see something pretty on his first look round the family apartment; and so Paprika loses her own admirer, the man who had heard only Paprika's lovely singing voice and who, sneaking into her room to pay his respects, mistakes her hideous friend for the woman of his fantasies. Vara Kolveed

Two critical journals have recently devoted entire issues to a single novelist, *Twentieth Century Literature*, a quarterly edited by William McBrien and published by the Hofstra University Press, Hempstead, New York 11550, produced a special William Golding issue for their Summer 1982 number (Volume 28 No 2; 231pp). Guest-edited by James R. Baker, the issue contains essays on "The Later Golding", by Ian Gregor and Mark Kinkadee; "William Golding's The Sea", by Andrew Sinclair; "The Grotesque in *Darkness Visible* and *Rites of Passage*", by William Nelson; "Biblical and Classical Metaphor in *Darkness Visible*", by Donald W. Crompton; "William Golding's 'Wooden World': Religious Rites in *Rites of Passage*", by Virginia Rutter; and an interview with William Golding conducted by James R. Baker, who also contributes a

preface. The bilingual review published by the Université de Valéry, Montpellier, gives on November 1982 special issue (No 132pp.) to Henry James, and on essays by J. Carlos Rowe, and on *Abuse of Uncertainty* in *The Gift of the Magi*, by Magus, the West, *Tutu of the Screw* and the *revelation of the Screw*; Paul Carmignani, on *Bostonians* on a million degrees; Nancy Blake on "La haine impossible: *L'Age Difficile de James*"; Catherine Villedieu on *Whigs of the Dove* and the *Question of Art*; Patricia Bleu on "Faintest revelation dans *The Bear's Jungle*"; Claude Richard on *Romance de Louise Pallant*; and Blake on "Never Say: Part de dans Louise Pallant"; and on Martin on "Les relations étroites dans Louise Pallant".

forces herself to be unconsciously committed in order to get her hands freed, only to see her beloved friend Clochette's brain swapped for her friend's that's tipped to win a six silver-plated coffee cups. Clochette wins the spoons, but her friend wins an unannounced prize, Dolk, the man of all Clochette's dreams and desires.

Clochette, we're told, claimed prize at the draw in an "ancient Babylonian voice". In these tales Babylon demands homage of its citizens, while at the same time letting them get too far on the wrong of it. Such downbeat conclusions of such strong and simple irony are the short stories, especially in New York short stories. One thinks continually of O. Henry. But no one latched on ironies more steely — with a wit that can risk occasional plunges into G. Henryish mawkishness — than did the very youthful Miss Barnes.

HISTORY

## The birth of modern freedom

J. H. Hexter

some prince — probably the King of León — had the idea. It was so promising that during the next 200 years princes had it all across Catholic Europe from the Ebro to the Vistula, from Sicily to Scotland. Because the idea of representation — unlike, say, the idea of double-entry bookkeeping — was indefinite, representative assemblies varied extravagantly from place to place: in frequency of meeting, in who got called up to represent whom, in what the representatives were told or asked by their summoner and ruler to do, in how fully they committed those they represented. In this matter Europe in the latter half of the thirteenth and the whole of the fourteenth century is a welter of independent experiments with a game that looked promising but started out with scarcely any rules.

In the end these experiments had only three things in common. First, they were experiments in representation. All the assemblies that were not mere gatherings of an ad hoc council had at least one representative element, a body of men assembled to speak for the people that chose them. The choosing itself was the second element. The representatives had to be chosen, elected, not by the prince who summoned them but by the people who sent them. Otherwise they could not offer the prince what those people had and what he wanted, and the benefit to the ruler of the whole exercise would be lost. The last thing that representative institutions had in common was that like so many human inventions they turned out to be less benign than the inventors anticipated.

Corporate assent from the authorized spokesmen of all effective bodies under his dominion to whatever he asked for would doubtless strengthen a ruler's hand, and please him greatly. That, however, was not all or always what representatives offered when assembled. By the middle of the fourteenth century assemblies of representatives found a number of uses for their time. First, they could and did bargain collectively for redress of grievances in exchange for whatever the ruler asked of them. As usual, thugs and crooks found their way into the service of rulers, especially where the money was. Since they impartially ripped off subjects and rulers, petitions of representatives for redress of the grievances for which the thugs and crooks were responsible could be of mutual benefit to ruler and subject, or, as political cant or platitudes soon came to put it, good "for the commonweal".

Representatives could also bargain collectively about the uses to which whatever they gave the ruler would be put. Conditions that representative assemblies attached to their grants to rulers reduced the pleasures of receiving, however much it may have enhanced the joys of giving. Besides, assemblies of estates gave groups within the assemblies opportunities for striking self-serving deals with the ruler. These deals took the form of franchises, liberties, freedoms — often charters in which rulers gave exemptions from burdens hitherto borne to some place or some "estate" of the land. Thus, well back in time, the representative element in Western innovation, became linked with liberties, another great Western innovation. The liberties, however, were not ordinarily those of "the people" of the commonweal, but of fragmented local or "class" interests, and the representatives were not the representatives of "the people", but of this or that territory or "estate" or status group, by law defined.

So, by the mid-sixteenth century, assemblies of estates had everywhere encountered systemic difficulties. These difficulties plague all representative bodies because the difficulties are universal and continual rather than regional and temporary. They have to do with the way men are always, not with momentary human aberrations. There is the propensity to levy, collected and dispersed local taxes. They even afforded some protection for regional liberties and privileges. In power and role they occupied a place analogous to state or provincial assemblies or county

body. There is further the possibility, sometimes actualized, of paralyzing the executive and thereby endangering the commonwealth.

The troubles of the representative assemblies from the 1350s to the 1550s, however, went deeper than that. For mankind's first experiment in all its history with the use of representative institutions the timing was especially lethal. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw a drastic transformation of military equipment and military technology in Europe. That transformation sharply raised the costs of warfare to the princes who mainly waged it. Those princes were understandably averse to accepting devastating military defeats. Such defeats often followed inability to

councils in a federal system. They were overlaid, however, by a national state structure. In neither France nor Spain by 1600 did the making of law, or the taking of the goods of subjects, or encroachment on their liberties by the ruler, depend mainly on the advice or consent of a representative body. The control of the main resources by means of which the Kings of France ruled in war and peace was wholly and solely in their own hand and command. It was not shared with a representative national assembly of any kind. For nearly the next 200 years the monarchy of France was the model for the princes of Europe, what they aspired to even if they did not attain it.

At the turn of the sixteenth century few observant men would have been

therefore have had reasonable grounds. Under adverse circumstances the English parliament had shown itself to be a responsible body. Without losing the effectiveness which specificity gave to claims to liberties in European representative bodies of an earlier era, the English had in a considerable measure "declassified" those liberties, so to speak, transforming them from the special privileges of social groups or classes to "the liberties of the subject".

And, of course, our betting man would have been right. The shape of the historical geography of free representative institutions is like an hour-glass. From its beginnings in the thirteenth century it spreads within 100 years across the map of Europe. And then it narrows and narrows until by the end of the sixteenth century only England, and perhaps the Netherlands, still had representative institutions committed to the preservation of the liberties of the subject or citizen that were not archaic, or disastrous, or ridiculous, or feeble, or trivial. For more than a century the stream flowed only through that narrow channel, and for a while it was in peril of drying up altogether. Had that happened there is every reason to suppose that free representative institutions would have ended up with the justiciarship, and ostracism, and the god-given, and elective episcopacy and the *liberum veto* in the junkyard of failed political inventions. They did not do so. Gradually and irregularly after 1688 the hour-glass shape of free representative institutions widens beyond its narrow waist in seventeenth-century England. Now 300 years later such institutions comprehend a broader area and a greater number of people than they ever have before. Nor do they appear to be obsolete or archaic. Rather, every political structure that lacks such institutions appears less secure, less viable, less stable than the ones that have them.

Tho, world, of course, is never entirely safe for freedom. Since modern freedom has proved possible only in association with freely elected representative bodies, such bodies have always been the targets of choice of enemies of freedom. Nevertheless at no time in history before now have the people of so many nations lived in freedom, in no previous time have the institutional foundations of freedom been so firmly set among so many peoples; at no time before has freedom's imprint been so deep on the collective consciousness of so many. That would not be true had not the patterns of freedom and men's perceptions of them undergone a transformation at the narrow waist of the hour-glass, a transformation that rendered them viable as they had not been earlier for the modern world. The transformation happened in the English parliament between the Reformation and the "Glorious Revolution".

II  
Modern liberty, as inhabitants of Western democracies enjoy it, appears then to be one of the prime human goods, perhaps the superordinate political good. Without it many other human goods and all other political goods become uncertain, precarious and insecure. It is thus the modern political value *sine qua non*. To understand its origins is to understand some of the indispensable conditions for its survival. An inquiry into its origins is not an exercise in sterile antiquarianism but an effort to know the ultimate terms for the well-being of modern society, to know first things first. In view of the historical geography of liberty as described above, it is therefore of highest consequence, right now, that we understand what went on in England, and especially in English parliaments between 1529 and 1688.

Fortunately the accessible means for understanding this, the edited sources

*The rest would probably have been Dutch. For several reasons for which there is no space here, the Dutch would probably have been even less persuasive than the English.*



The House of Commons in session in 1656, drawn by Thomas Simon (who died, at about the age of 42, in the Great Plague nine years later), as engraved by Philip Audinet (1766-1837).

maintain fortifications and to supply an army in the field. Between the middle of the fourteenth century and the early sixteenth, at least one ruler in every "advanced" land in Europe had watched a military campaign bog down or collapse because a representative assembly in his realm had failed to provide him with the financial means for conducting it successfully. This reiterated experience gave European rulers a powerful incentive to explore ways to manage their military affairs without relying on a representative body that was sluggish about helping them empty the pockets of their subjects for the greater glory of God and of the prince themselves, or even for the common good. Since all representative assemblies of estates were sluggish in that respect, many rulers took care to find other sources of supply for the costs of war, other means for doing whatever their forebears had done or tried to do through bodies that included representative members. When the princes found ways both to avoid assemblies of estates and quickly to lay hands on money to support their wars, those assemblies rotted on the vine.

By 1600 it looked as though the returns might be in on the matter of the Western invention of political representation and on the unique representation and on the unique Western version of liberty. Representative bodies were useful in the work of regional government. Some of them made local laws and levied, collected and dispersed local taxes. They even afforded some protection for regional liberties and privileges. In power and role they occupied a place analogous to state or provincial assemblies or county



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and the segment edited by Coates. Brian Dunn is preparing an edition of the sources for the first two sessions of James I's first parliament. Finally, T. E. Hartley has undertaken a complete editorial work on the parliamentary manuscripts for the latter half of Elizabeth's reign. Should he receive adequate support to employ the assistance he needs for that effort the completion of the work ought not be too far off.

And that will be that. An editorial effort that began 350 years ago in the study of the fussy antiquarian-historian Sir Simonds D'Ewes will have been completed. All the known manuscript accounts and documents of all the parliaments of England from 1559 to 1688 will have been transcribed and put in a form that will render them accessible to scholars everywhere.

Since work is still in progress on materials on parliament from 1584 to 1649, we may ask of Dr Hartley's editing of *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth 1559-1581*, as we have in the case of the *History of Parliament* sets, whether it offers any matter for the edification of those including Hartley himself, who during the next decade will be carrying through the remaining editorial tasks.

The Hartley volumes are bound in light brown cloth, pleasant to the touch, and has an elegantly designed dust-jacket and endpapers. The pages are a joy to look at: The typeface is handsome and easy on the eye against the heavy off-white pages on which it is printed. The outer margins - 1 1/4 inches - are wonderfully generous. Surely of the many publications that have gone to press in the three centuries during which this sort of work has been done, *Proceedings* is the most beautiful.

But is it preferable to all the others? Preferable surely for one whose prime concern is the pure aesthetics of book-making. But what about the concerns of historians who will be the main users of *Proceedings*? From their point of view much that makes the Hartley volume attractive to the bibliophile becomes a nuisance. A volume of nearly 600 pages on heavy paper, *Proceedings* is a weighty tome indeed. By increasing the number of pages the generous margins make their contribution to the gratuitous unwieldiness of the book. This unwieldiness will early take its toll when *Proceedings* gets the hard handling that scholars often inflict on volumes they put to intensive use. The front and rear endpapers, wholly without reinforcement at their junction with the book-covers, will soon begin to split (much have already begun to do so), and the book held by such fragile moorings will tear loose from its covers. After a few hours the user of *Proceedings* will have discovered that the sheer beauty of the generously margined pages - exact, a price in convenience from the reader. The aesthetically pleasing broad line of print turns out to be literally more than the eye can take in. Eye-return, so to speak, over so long a line, acts like a defective typewriter carriage. Sometimes it makes the correct return to the next line of print, sometimes it skips two lines down; sometimes it skips over the same line, or even up one. The handsome single-column page thus turns out to be a hindrance rather than a help to a scholar using the book. In the matter of format someone must have asked, "What needs to be done to make this book visually beautiful?" But did anyone ask, "What needs to be done to make the format of *Proceedings* most convenient for those likely to use it?" Not if the volume itself is evidence.

On the face of things the crucial general editorial question did not get asked either: is whatever we are doing now and the way we are doing it going to make the work we are preparing as convenient as possible for the scholars who will actually be using it? For lawyers whose professional well-being depends on ready access to conveniently edited sources, called cases, what is indispensable to their sound editing is not in doubt: correct text, informative footnotes, full cross-referencing, efficient index. In the matter of text the editor of *Proceedings* appears to have taken the time and care necessary to produce an excellent one. He started with "the transcript of the manuscript which Miss Helen Miller produced for Neale", and then properly "returned to the original manuscripts" and corrected patent errors from surviving copies.

To alert readers to these emendations the editor properly uses footnotes. All six footnotes to pp 286-87 for example account for corrections of BL. Cor Titus F1 from Hari 2194. But that is nearly all the editor uses footnotes for. Three "arguments of law" to persuade Elizabeth of the rightfulness of executing Queen Mary Julius Caesar, Diotaurus, "Frederick King of Naples" and "the King of Spain", "Johane Queen of Naples", "Henry the Emperor" and "Robarte, King of Cicell". Julius Caesar all readers will know. But Diotaurus, Joanna of Naples, Robert of Sicily, Frederick of Naples and an unnamed King of Spain - who actually are they? And the episodes mentioned - Diotaurus conspired to slay Caesar at a banquet, Robert conspired against Emperor Henry VII with the latter's subjects, Joanna conspired to the murder of her husband and caused him to be hanged out at a window", so the text tells us. What - in a bit more detail - actually happened? And when? And from what source could the Lords and Commons have got their information on these matters? These are things about which scholars normally look to footnotes for information in modern editions of sources. And what of those two dozen "arguments of law" for finishing Mary off? On inspection they appear to be a mixture of particular precedents and of maxims of law. What are their sources? On these matters there is not a single explanatory footnote.

As with footnotes so with cross-references. Since there is a scattering of them the editor must have recognized their usefulness. He does not, however, recognize the rationale for cross-referencing a work like *Proceedings*: that the editor should call to the attention of readers current occurrences of evidence in separate documents and substantive continuities in the actions of parliament over time of which the editor will be aware and which the reader may miss. A scholar using a source collection with a particular question in mind may not know that earlier or later parliaments dealt with similar matters. A cross-referencing system then saves a reader's time always and spares him errors of omission often.

Because the editor gave indexing some systematic thought, his indexes of *Proceedings* are much more thorough and more rational than his footnoting or his cross-referencing. He has made a three-part index - General Index, Index of Bills, Index of Persons. He classifies and arranges bills first by the House in which they were considered, second by the year in which they were considered and last alphabetically in each house each year. It is a sensible and helpful arrangement. It is otherwise with the other two indexes. In an index each increase of undifferentiated entries beyond ten or thereabouts, under a single heading, yields diminishing returns. The editor of *Proceedings* disregards this rule - a disregard that peaks with 153 utterly useless, undifferentiated entries under "Elizabeth I".

Hartley's work then falls short of the standards of editing hitherto achieved in the editorial tradition of which *Proceedings* is the last chapter to date. Present-day standards for such editing were set sixty years ago by Wallace Notestein and F. H. Reif. Besides careful preparation and collation of the texts used and notation of significant variants, their *Commons: Debates for Footnoting*, full cross-referencing and detailed, carefully differentiated indexing. Why then, in every respect but the presentation of sound texts, does *Proceedings* come short of a standard set half a century ago? We can infer the answer from the editor's preliminary acknowledgments. "The University Research Board of the University of Leicester provided grants at various times which helped in the completion of this edition", and two sources subsidized the cost of publication. To anyone who knows the time-costs of preparing an edition of manuscript sources on parliament that is up to the standard which Notestein set, the explanation of Hartley's trouble jumps from the page. He simply did not have the financial support for his work that the job required. For university can equitably provide that level of support out of the funds set aside for the subsidizing of faculty research.

It is good to know that the task of editing the manuscript sources for the

parliaments of Elizabeth I from 1584 to the end of her reign is likely to go forward in Hartley's experienced and capable hands. It is disheartening to suspect, however, that for lack of adequate financial support, the volume for 1584 to 1603 may fall as far short of the standards of editing attained sixty years ago as the *Proceedings* published in 1981 did.

## IV

So we have arrived at the end of the penultimate chapter in the history of two great convergent scholarly enterprises. The end of the penultimate chapter is the beginning of the last chapter, and that chapter is already well under way. Are we fully aware how final the last chapter in preparing materials for the study of the parliaments of England from 1558 to 1688 will be? We need not be in doubt: what is done in the next ten years is all that will be done ever. Scholars do not do biographical registers of members of the same parliament twice. And they are not likely to make new collections of sources that have already been collected.

That the sort of effort that yielded the great windfall of 1981-82 will cease is as predictable as the tides. The cluster of skillful scholars gathered in Tavistock Square by the History of Parliament Trust will have finished their tasks and gone their way. In the United States the scholar editors for the *History of Parliament* Trust, and in England Dr Hartley, will have brought the 350-year-long editorial enterprise that D'Ewes began to completion - or as near to completion as it ever will get. The sources of support, governmental and private - the British Academy, the History of Parliament Trust, the John Beo Snow Charitable Trust, the Leverhulme Trust, the National Endowment for the Humanities - that during the past three decades made possible all the work on the history of parliament from 1509 to 1688, and will make it possible for the next one or two, will dry up as the individuals and groups who required that support come to the end of their tasks and their need for assistance. Whatever the condition and quality of the reference materials and editions of manuscripts are at that moment as they will remain.

It would be a special tragedy were the world of learning to allow this tide to ebb, as surely it soon must, without seizing on the brief opportunity it affords. Why this is so has to do, as I argued earlier, with the particular position in human affairs held by this particular arts of history, a position oddly neglected by English historians in the last fifty years, though its importance used to be known by every schoolchild. To turn a pan-European cluster of semi-failed political inventions into one of the enduring political success stories of all time - that, it would seem, might have been worthy of close attention, at least as *politics*, or as the city-state republics of Renaissance Italy, or syndicalism, or participatory democracy. As instruments of free self-government none of these have been nearly so durable nor so widely imitated as England's free institutions rooted in the free elections of a representative body have turned out to be.

And here is the paradox, the cultural oddity. From the 1920s to the 1960s, as a result of the American editorial efforts we have examined, a mass of evidence on the intricate political process by which the primacy of free representative institutions was imprinted on the collective political consciousness of Englishmen was added to the already voluminous accretions of the previous three centuries. Yet no English historian of England was moved by what these more sophisticated levels that great story, a specifically English story which in the 1920s every English schoolboy knew. Why?

In the history of English history-writing about the period from the Reformation to the Revolution, the decades from the 1920s through the 1960s were both exciting and fruitful except in what had to do with transformations in politics, political institutions and political perceptions. In these areas the work of English historians was sterile. It was sterilized by the vision of politics that prevailed among the best English historians of the era: that consisted of three linked doctrines: (1) the English upheaval of

the middle decades of the seventeenth century was the world's first bourgeois revolution; (2) it was preceded necessarily by a major transformation in the mode of production from feudal to capitalist; (3) all other transformations in society and culture were merely superstructural and were adequately accounted for by reference back to the material forces reshaping the social economy.

That view of what was really going on in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries - not a whit oversimplified here - had an inevitable impact on the way that historians who adopted it perceived what happened in parliaments between the Reformation and the Revolution. It put paid to any notion that "the crisis of Parliaments", as one member described the situation in 1628 from the floor of the House of Commons, the question "whether parliament will live or die", was a matter of serious historical interest. As an instrument of the rising middle classes the House of Commons was sure to survive and triumph: the dialectic of history had, so to speak, already put the fix to. This view of how things happened in history and of what counted has had remarkable powers of survival. In the light of the evidence made available by the three centuries of editorial effort now in its penultimate stage, this view of the historical school à la mode from the 1930s through the 1960s is also a bad brought to total mass of evidence brought to the mode of argument both trivial and infantile. The bearing walls of the socio-economic structure of ideas that were meant to support it have one by one collapsed in the past few decades. No historian of stature has stepped in to try to prop up the sagging political annexe, which leaned against and collapsed with the main structure. It is clearly beyond repair.

In the 1970s historians did begin to step in to tidy up the mess that their immediate predecessors had made of the modern understanding of political life under the Tudors and Stuarts. Some of these historians actually read the accumulated editorial work of the past three centuries on the sources for the history of parliament from the Reformation to the Revolution. Unfortunately they approached the evidence while still suffering from a prenatal intellectual truncheon. They had gone through their training while their teachers were shaking off the debilitating effects of successive indulgence in anarchistic Whig and anachronistic Marxist notions. Consequently the current reflex among English historians is to shrink from anything that looks like a big idea. In order to see what is happening in politics from the Reformation to the Revolution they put on the spectacles Namier prescribed for the 1750s; the spectacles of patronage, clientage, jobbery and favour. Namier himself would have known that while those spectacles are suitable for close work from 1529 to 1688, they make a hopeless blur of the panorama of politics. That panorama, however, is a fact not blurred. Looked at in proper perspective it reveals a moving pattern of great significance - the gradual imprinting on the collective consciousness of Englishmen of the awareness that their liberties required the survival of representative institutions, and that the freedom guaranteed by those institutions was their highest political priority.

England, and through England the world, has been ill served this last half-century by England's historians of Tudor and Stuart politics. Political inventions that are vile and hideous, steeped in blood and sin, are afforded enough in history. They are afforded a grubby and gray outlet for men's venerate propensity to evil. Political inventions that at a relative low cost in human suffering have laid men for wreaking havoc on each other are a far rarer thing. Given the ordinary dominance of the propensity to evil the rare episodes in which those restrictions have been achieved and confirmed become especially worthy of study and reflection - episodes such as the making of the Constitution of the United States, the resumption of free republicanism in France in 1871, the re-establishment and organization of free the end of the Second World War, the gradual and peaceful extension of the franchise in England during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Of such processes none took time, none was more often to be displayed or political insight in the political steadiness by ordinary men than what happened in England between the Reformation and the Revolution. That process involved the conversion of local and class politics into modern liberty and the representation of social order into the representation of the whole country did not happen "inevitably" or "naturally". It was the result of a whole array of lucky convergences, of close encounters of disaster, and of the ceaseless endeavours of many men. In the end, and sordid chronicle of men-to-men, it is one of the rare episodes that merit a gloss. And if it had not happened modern freedom would not be.

To tell the story of that complex, very long episode, to tell justice will take the work of more than one historian. A sense of what the historical graphic fog that has cured it for a half-century. And historians who turn their backs on telling it will find that they have been, are being, are about to be enriched with new resources in telling it.

It has been, is and will be the obligation of the scholars engaged in preparing these sources to present them in the best way they know and the best way that money can buy. For these scholars to consider the more needs to be done to be sure the work not yet complete is completed in conformity to the highest standards and scholarly standards attained now. It is also for them to look back at the fifty-year-old tradition of scholarship on the History of Parliament - to look back and advise needs to be done to bring the available materials up to date: daily order a business keying the source material published before the 1920s to be published since 1921? A complete combined index to the sources on the parliaments of Elizabeth - the official journals of both Houses, Dr D'Ewes, Townshend, Hartley? A modern scholarly edition of William Halliwell's work on parliamentary procedure? Above all let us not leave this splendid array of materials full of galleries and holes so that a scholar working in the field is in constant danger of losing his footing. If we do leave it that way, reasons already rehearsed, we leave that way for ever. In this matter, moment, right now, is the right moment of time. It must be seized by a skilful amalgam of wit, colourful description, and scholarly precision. It makes for compulsive reading from the first page to the last: William J. Fishman in *The Guardian*. £15

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## commentary

## Trend-spotters and sinners

Robert Halsband

MLA Convention  
Los Angeles

Once upon a time (in 1883) the Modern Language Association of America held its first convention at Columbia College in New York, with forty members attending its four sessions. But that was before the Academic Exploration. From December 27 to 30, 1982, the MLA held its ninety-seventh convention in Los Angeles. To house over 700 sessions and most of the 6,000 members who attended, three downtown hotels were taken over; they Biltmore (mainly for British Literature), the Bonaventure (American literature), and the Hilton (foreign languages).

Seven hundred sessions! Since between two and five papers were presented at each session, the total came to more than 2,000. No wonder the sessions started as early as 8.30 am and ended as late as 10.15 pm. I could only sample a dozen or so meetings, study the titles of papers listed in the Program (120 double-columned pages), and button-hole those I know and eavesdrop on those I don't in an attempt to capture the general atmosphere. The range of topics in literature, criticism and theory was limitless. Not only Germanic and Romance languages, but Slavic, Yiddish, Hungarian, Lithuanian, Romanian, Estonian, Armenian and Arabic; among writers, not only such whales as Shakespeare, Goethe, Proust, Chaucer, Melville, Dickens, Cervantes and Coleridge, but shoals of minnows.

A sampling of the traditional topics: at "Shakespeare and English Comedy, 1600-1720" George Duffy's paper, "What the Dryden-Davenant Tempest is Really About", linked the play's political content with the English scene in 1667 to explain its popularity. (Then why did it remain popular through the eighteenth century?) At "The Convention and Invention: The Resources of Genre from Spenser to Milton" Barbara Lewalski pursued the angels in *Paradise Lost* to find their literary origins. The session on James Joyce and Virginia Woolf, held in a large auditorium, drew a meagre audience despite the current industry in these two writers. (Trend-spotters may note that the Jane Austen session, at an inconvenient hour, attracted an enormous crowd.) "Literature and the Visual Arts: In Quest of Theory" disappointed expectations: one paper analysed a few stills from a film, and another dealt with emblem books. "The Detective in California" tribute to the convention's venue, included a magisterial and elegant paper by Jacques Barzun on the crime fiction of Raymond Chandler. With a more general topic than these, the panel on "Censorship and Society" enlisted several non-academics: John Leonard, book critic of the New York Times, exhibited jewelled prose more fit to be printed than listened to; and Victor Navasky, editor of *The Nation*, spoke with good humour of his magazine's censorship problems.

The 1883 or even 1983 convention would have been startled if not shocked by many of the topics and papers: critical theory, whether political (Marxism) or ideological (semiotics, deconstruction), sexual activities, also tempted. The Huntington Library in suburban San Marino hosted several sessions, including one at which James Thorpe displayed the Library's rich store of Thoreau manuscripts and books.

Next December: New York, where attendance of 10,000 can be projected. How many papers is anybody's guess. While attending the Censorship panel I had to miss exactly forty other sessions taking place at the same time. The cure for such programme elephantiasis is for MLA to schedule fewer sessions and to choose broader topics of more general interest. These annual meetings are becoming victims of the politics of conventionneering.

## Surface impressions

Ronald Hayman

R. B. SHERIDAN  
The School for Scandal  
Theatre Royal, Haymarket

"Genteel comedy cannot be acted at present", lamented Hazlitt, reviewing the 1815 revival of *The School for Scandal* with Charles Kemble as Charles Surface. "Little Moses, the moneylender, was within a hair's breadth of being the only person in the piece who had the appearance or manners of a gentleman." The propriety of his gestures was reminiscent of the good old times when everyone belonged to a marked class in society and maintained himself in his characteristic absurdities by a *chevaux-de-frise* of prejudices, forms and ceremonies.

Jonathan Miller's 1972 production at the National tried to push the play away from ceremony by lowering the social tone and larding the text with sub-Hogarthian squalor. We were given a shabby, churlish Sir Peter, glancing hostility, pragmatic servants and audible lavatories. Irving Wardle began his *Times* review with the confident forecast that the production would not transfer to the Haymarket.

Now that this beautiful theatre has once again been reclaimed for the classics, the problem of style has abatingly been resolved by an abdication from style. When Maria seats herself on the floor in a drawing room, no one reacts as if she had perpetrated an outrageous solicitude, and yet no consistent effort is made to disentangle the action from the conventions of the eighteenth century. This is a comedy of manners in which manners count for little. Like Jonathan Miller, John Barton takes pleasure in exposing female baldness that will disappear under an elaborate wig, but at the Haymarket, although most of the furniture in Charles Surface's lodgings has been sold, to be replaced by crates of various sizes, no discarded boxes are drunkenly littering the floor in the houses of Lady Sneerwell, the Teazles and Joseph Surface.

moneyed elegance is rather perfunctorily suggested with a minimum of furniture and props, which might have been all right if John Barton had achieved a satisfactory balance between words and action, but this is more problematic than it appears to be, and what style there is in this starchy production is determined partly by the stars themselves.

Sheridan had a fine ear for textual detail in the gossip of his backbiters. As depicted by Lady Teazle, a fat dowager almost lives on pulley and small whey; laces herself in a summer, you may see her on a little squat pony, with her hair plaited up behind like a drummer's and puffing round the Ring on a full trot. It does not help us to digest all this if Lady Teazle - self-confident drawing-room comedienne and not at all the girl from the country - trots around the stage imitating both horse and rider.

Admittedly, Sheridan took more care to make his dialogue entertaining than to keep it in character, but he was alert to the difficulty of integrating description into stage action. In *The Critic* Sir Fretful Plagiary, who steals fine passages from other writers, is told that "they lie on the surface like lumps of marl on a barren moor, encumbering what it is not in their power to fertilize". His bombast is intolerable because "the homeliness of the sentiment stares through the fantastic encumbrance of its fine language like a clown in one of the new uniforms". Sheridan's own sentiments are homelier than Congreve's, for the language or the plotting that fleshes them out. In his five-year theatrical career Sheridan was trying to earn as much money as possible by giving as much pleasure as possible, and there was no question of introducing into the play the ambivalence or the melancholy that bedevilled his life. *The School for Scandal* does contain autobiographical references - to his autocratic father, to his careerist brother and to sexual jealousy - but he was skilful enough not to ruffle the surface of his sentimental comedy. Neatly, the play does its moralizing under the counter while appearing to mock at moralizing by loading pious

platitudes into the mouth of the villain.

Where Sheridan makes statements through action, Barton is in no difficulty. It is hard to fail with the screen scene, but it is easy to make it succeed so well as it does here. The timing is perfect, as Sir Peter Teazle, Donald Sinden, in his endearing best as he looks the audience to share the chuckling that precedes the long - but so long - delayed climax in which the screen crashes down to reveal the Little French milliner and the embarrassed Lady Teazle. The disclosure is followed by an silence in which no one moves.

The sentimentality, then, does stare through the dexterous plotting but the density of Sheridan's detail is unevenly accommodated to the performances dispensed by the stars. With her entertainingly cadenced and her expressive, husky gait, Beryl Reid laces each piece of dithyrambic high poetry, but Dame Gray lacks the vocal incisiveness of Lady Sneerwell from being eclipsed. Michael Denison sinks into vaudeville stomp for his appearance as Mr Stanley, but he speaks his lines with resonance and relish, especially when chortling over his nephew's refusal to part with his portrait. Bill Fraser turns in a low-key but effective performance as Rowley, while Corin Costelow is admirably cast as Moses, but as Joseph Surface Christopher Gough concentrates so hard on appearing to be relaxed that he misses many superb comic opportunities.

A director from the Royal Shakespeare Company might have been expected - whatever other mistakes he made - to encourage his actors into giving the words their full value, but it is in this respect that John Barton lets Sheridan down most seriously. The production would have been better if he had thought more committedly about style, had set a livelier pace, had persuaded the actors to listen to each other more carefully and not to read his lines mechanically, and to read his lines with more gusto. But in spite of all this, the play can still be recommended as a worthy one of the last evenings currently available in the London theatre.



An holy Nativity from Salerno Cathedral, reproduced in Kurt Wetzmann's Studies in the Arts at Sinai (450pp, Princeton University Press, £37.50, paperback £14. 0 691 03993 3).

## A glossary of quotations

Richard Combs

Still of the Night  
Various cinemas

From the credit titles of his last two films - classically plain with a touch of Bergmanesque severity - the writer-director Robert Benton seems to have been blinding at something similarly classical and severe to follow, psychological truth exposed with a no-nonsense purity of form. In the case of *Kramer vs Kramer*, this was almost like advertising, since the dramatic sting (and not just heartstrings) were tagged in an unclassically obvious (and rather clumsy) way. With *Still of the Night* one could see this come-on as more playful than pretentious, since the film does involve a kind of Bergman face-to-face - a psychiatrist being gradually drawn to and identified with his disturbed patient - in the context of a murder mystery. But *Still of the Night* is not after the secrets of a soul; the psychia wishes to probe to see that of it possibly homicidal tendencies but of its audience, who can be tempted to participate vicariously in the game, and then suffer the consequences of guilty complicity. The game also is not Bergman breast-beating but Hitchcock cat-and-mouse.

This irony is that Hitchcock imposes his own symbolic precision and thematic consistency, which his would-be imitators (like Brian De Palma) ignore, while going for the flashier effects. Robert Benton is not like De Palma, but he seems similarly to have mistaken something that looks like Hitchcock for something that works like Hitchcock. To begin with, it is uncertain who this film is principally about: psychiatrist Sam Rice (Roy Scheider), who loses a patient as the film begins, and then acquires the dead man's lover (while himself suffering the pangs of something "lost", a failed marriage); or the femme fatale herself.

## Fifty years on: Lawrence stories

The TLS of January 19, 1933, carried the following review of *The Lovely Lady* by D. H. Lawrence:

There is none of these stories, however effective and amusing, that one would like to include with his best - until one comes to the last to the book. "Man who Loved Islands" stands rather by itself. It is in fantastic, but really imaginative in its wealth of possible meaning. We know from Lawrence's letters that it was one of his favourites. It is a life story, as it were a fable, of a man who had a passion for possessing islands and making a world of his own. On the first he aims busily at perfection, until his little world breaks up and nearly ruins him; on the second

with one or two humble folk, he lives in a dream and drifts into an entanglement which bores him; finally he perches on an islet where there are a few sheep and no humans. There he passes into a kind of non-being, loathing any contact; and the story grows grimly death-like as it leaves him struggling in an Arctic loneliness of snow and storm. It is almost bare narrative, with a few reflections, but its philosophy of islands reads like an allegory of life. It is as though Lawrence had embodied his own sense of isolation and carried it to a bitter end. But whether we read between the lines or in them there is a poetic scope in it which sets the imagination free to muse.

## commentary

## The rule of honour and the rule of law

Roger Scruton

Yol  
Lumière Cinema

Yilmaz Güney owes his position as the representative Turkish artist to three things: his ideological commitment to the Turkish left, and his consequent status as the voice of the voiceless; his talent as a film director, in a country where the novel has never had sufficient prestige to make the cinema seem like a poor relation; and the glamour of his life, most recently exemplified in October 1981, when he escaped from his island prison in the Sea of Marmara. Güney had been incarcerated for the murder of a judge. While in prison he wrote five films, and directed them by proxy. These films have steadily gained recognition among Western critics, and there is now an accepted image of Güney as a man without honour, whose political commitment is as far from sillon communism as his films are far from the posturing sentimentalities of *If and Les Quatre Cents Coups*.

Güney's cause provided the Turkish left with much needed propaganda. It came at a time when the military government of General Evren had established the popularity to which recent events bear witness. In such circumstances the war of subversion could be sustained only beyond Turkey's frontiers. As always, the principal task was to capture the "informed public opinion" which holds sway in the West, and there is no better channel to this opinion than "art cinema", which is sufficiently near to television to be widely intelligible, while sufficiently far from television to command the respect of those who recognize that truth and drama are neither easily achieved nor easily comprehended. It comes as no surprise, therefore, to find that Güney's recent films have received wide publicity, and that the presentation of *Yol* at the Lumière Cinema has been the occasion for extensive propaganda against the "fascist" régime of General Evren, not to in the press, but also in the cinema itself. All this lends credence to the view that Güney's escape was far from miraculous. Either the régime was blind to its consequences - and the

evidence suggests that it was far from blind - or Güney was effectively supported by those with an interest in his cause.

Whatever the explanation, there is reason to be thankful for the aesthetic consequences. *Yol's* predecessor - *Silva* (The Herd) - was brilliantly acted and brilliantly photographed. However, it tortured the viewer with minute upon minute of redundant footage. *Yol* is superficially similar, both in style and in content; it relies heavily on Turkish countryside for its effects, and upon the contrast between rural stasis and urban fluidity for its material. But the situations are now succinctly and dramatically presented, and the effect is so obviously a part of them that the narrative is utterly compelling.

The road referred to in the title is that taken by a group of convicts on a week's leave from their island prison. One is destined for death at the hands of his wife's family, having through cowardice betrayed their son. Another must bear the burden of dishonour on learning of his wife's infidelity. Another returns to his village in Kurdistan, to find that it has become a battle-ground between the militia and Kurdish separatists. He also finds himself bound by immemorial custom, and against his budding love, to marry the widow of a rebel brother. A fourth is trapped into marriage by the unanswerable system of surveillance which has made marriages in the Middle East for centuries. All find themselves constrained by enormous complexities of kinship and custom; in comparison the lenient prison from which they were released comes to seem like home.

The dramatic moments are carefully managed by Serif Gönen, who directed the film under Güney's instructions. The screenplay, by Güney himself, employs simple, and indeed somewhat simplified, dialogue. The main achievement of Güney's editing lies in his scrupulous avoidance of sentimentality. The only criticism to be made of the result - although it is, I believe, a serious criticism - is that the film relies too heavily upon the cinematic clichés generated by train travel, and by the Asiatic beauties of the landscape. The dividing line between drama and documentary is repeatedly crossed, and the camera work is insufficiently skilful to settle

the resulting question of relevance - the question of which detail, which movement, which figure or image should be attended to.

*Yol* was shot during the early days of military rule. It is further evidence of Güney's scrupulousness that he avoids the occasion of propaganda, and indeed for the most part portrays the Turkish army as a peace-keeping force, imposing its rough justice upon a country torn by faction. The dramatic sketches concern not the large questions of political order, but the smaller and deeper questions of social cohesion. The convincing portrait of village life, in which disputes are matters of honour rather than justice, shows the enormous gap between the actual conditions of rural Turkey, and the overbearing rule of law which Atatürkists (General Evren included) have tried to impose upon it. Güney has too much sympathy for his people not to show how closely their lives depend upon the benighted imperatives of honour and kinship. At the same time he is unable to contain his outrage at the resulting sufferings of women, and unable to share Yasar Kemal's countervailing sense of the support which women receive, in the form of unbreakable domestic affection. Güney concentrates instead upon the cruelty of the code of honour, which denies freedom to women and justice to men.

There is another reason for Güney's representative status. The problem which concerns him is that of the gap between the rule of honour and the rule of law, between ancient piety and modern justice. Such is the theme which the *Orestes* first placed before us. Only in the polis, Aeschylus shows, can the transition from piety to justice be accomplished. For only in the polis is there a public order that can override and extinguish the demands of blood. The transition must therefore be made from honour to law without it there is no rest from the endlessness of human persecution. The truth is well illustrated by the history of modern Turkey; but the tragedy of Turkey is that those, like Güney, who have comprehended the human problem, have so often espoused the inhuman solution of the left. This solution, as Turkey's neighbours know, has never accomplished the passage from honour to justice. On the contrary it has merely abolished both.

## Author, Author

## Competition No 106

Readers are invited to identify the sources of the three quotations which follow and to send us the answers not later than February 11. A prize of £10 is offered for the first correct set of answers opened on that date, or failing that the most nearly correct - in which case inspired guesswork will also be taken into consideration.

Entries, marked "Author, Author 106" on the envelope, should be addressed to the Editor, *The Times Literary Supplement*, Priory House, St John's Lane, London EC1M 4BX. The solution and results will appear on February 18.

- 1 I kiss my hand  
To the stars, lovely-asunder:  
Straight, waiting him out of it; and  
Glow, glory in thunder.
- 2 I am a secret mountain  
tense, fawn-like by starlight,  
my eyes are gone:  
then when you cut my throat it bleeds  
coffee

with a trickle of alcohol.  
3 So in conjecture stands  
my starlit body. The mind  
mobile as a fox goes round  
the sleepers waiting for their  
wounds.

## Competition No 102

Winner: F. Plesant  
Answers:

1 "I Was Inquiring," said Mr —, resuming the thread of his discourse: "Whether You have Observed in our Streets as We should say, Upon our Pavvy as You would say, any Tokens."

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Eric Korn

I don't wish to discuss what my still be subjudicial, but there's this man Derek Mahoney who has found King Arthur's Magic Sword. It wasn't in Glastonbury, but - for reasons I'd prefer not even to think about - in the grounds of a house in Enfield. "King Arthur's Sword," said what I've been looking for," said Mr Mahoney to himself, or words to that effect. "King Arthur's Sword? That's ours, give it here at once," said Enfield Borough Council. Mr Mahoney, who may be waiting for flying saucers to land on the Tor or for an interesting offer from breakfast television, said the time wasn't right. Enfield Council, brave fellows, had him put in the poky. "It isn't really King Arthur's Sword," opined an expert from the British Museum's Mythical Weapons Department. "Ever mind," said A. Councillor of Enfield, a person not noted for humour, magnanimity or romance. "It's still ours and we want it." Mr Mahoney is serving two years: two years while persons more in touch with reality like \*\*\* or \*\*\* are still at large. Chesterton, thou shouldst be living at this hour...

*A Ballad of Unlabeled Archaeology* As I came ambling out of Tottenham Hale I spied a hill protruding from the mire Amidst the cinders and the rustling rail Enhaloed by an old discarded tyre. And on the blade, in letters as of fire Were runes, embossed like notices in Braille: "I am Excalibur," 'gainst my desire The hosts of Enfield never shall prevail. It spoke of heathens, threshed beneath the scior, tower, and spire It spoke of God, good fellowship, Real Ale, The Latin Mass from every soaring spire. "Draw nigh" it urged: so I drew nigh, then nigher, I was resolved and did not flinch or pale. I seized the sword: to knight-hood I aspire. The hosts of Enfield never shall prevail. "The council claim..." they'd claim the Holy Grail But I obey a summons that is higher And steadfast as an oaktree in a gale I'll stand against the Borough or the Shire. I would have braved the Dragon or the Pyre; I'm not unmanned, although I lie in gaol. Though I'm encompassed with barbed wire - The hosts of Enfield over shall prevail.

ENVOI Prince, draw your fake or imitation sword, Do on your haubergeon of second-class mail: Against the daft Crusaders of the Lord Tho' hosts of Enfield never shall prevail. I can see a last chapter, too: Mahoney and his few last comrades (one a poet of portentous girth and obscurantist opinions) at hay on Chase Side, after fighting valiantly every step along the Green Lanes from Alderman's Hill to Ponders End ("And yes, good friends, it's time to Ponder Ends"), but who are these thundering down the slopes of Ponders Hill and Silver Street, in creaking armour and on ancient horses, putting to flight the ranks of municipal modernism, amongst whom distinguish H. Wells, O. Shaw, K. Livingstone (I really don't think he and G. K. C. would have got on at all)...

... The book-selling caper is a bit sporadic at the moment, so I was thinking of taking up some staidier line of work, the kind that gets you out into the fresh air and that. Accordingly, I've been studying up R. H. Tiltonson's *How to be a Detective: A Complete Textbook* (Kansas City, Mo. 1909). At that time, of course, Kansas City, Mo. was the ne plus ultra of modernity. ("I reckon Kansas City, Mo. is the ne plus ultra of modernity," one windbronzed Westerner would opine to another. "Yup," his interlocutor would riposte, "they've got about as far as they can go.")

"At some period in every man's life, almost, there has been a desire to become a detective," says the preface, and the book offers succinct guidance: cut a hole in a newspaper to spy through, do not wear a false beard or moustache if you wish to remain inconspicuous, always remember that the criminal is smarter than you. A disproportionate number of pages describe the Bertillon system for measuring a criminal's physical features ("the ear being very pliable, care should be taken not to press the holder with the rule"; "where partial amputation of the left little finger or left foot has occurred, record the actual measurement of the remaining portion"), and there is more about the manufacture of nitro-glycerine than an honest man should need to know.

But there are thirty rewarding pages of famous bank-robbers, mostly with names like Alfalfa Red or Nebraska Tom, though Otto Worwick uses the rather neat near-anagram T. J. Atwork. There are many views of exploded safes, and potted biographies: "Very dangerous. At Large: Has become an Evangelist. Dying of Consumption. Would kill at the drop of a hat." The reason for this last becomes clear when it is mentioned that the modern bank-robber or yeggman "always wears a dark sweater and a warm undershirt, together with a black, soft felt, flat crowned hat (all names from hat removed)". They don't use the velvet mask and the large bag labelled SWAG, so you may need to snatch the hat and look under the brim for that tell-tale anonymity. ("My suspicions are confirmed by the absence of nametapes. You are the notorious Pat Crowa of notorious fame, described on page 81.") If you do adopt this approach, *make care not to drop the hat, or your life may be in danger.*

Tiltonson is rather contemptuous of the new breed of safelower, no professionals, his predecessor was a true craftsman "whose kit was so heavy it almost required a wagon to carry it." In those days cracking a safe was an all-night job for three or four men who laboured hard and were usually caught, recalls Tiltonson admiringly. Other matters covered are how to beg ("Jewish working girls are kindhearted and socialistic tendencies"), how to steal forks from restaurants, the sawdust swindle, the wiretapping game - which turns out to be, precisely, the plot of the movie, *The Sting* - and an elaborate frusd that involves turning up at an isolated farmhouse dressed as a clergymen, followed shortly by an eloping couple who knock, ask for a glass of water, do you happen to know where we could find a reverend gentleman to marry us? What a fortunate coincidence, would you oblige us by acting as witness? Native rustic agrees, innocently signs large blank cheque concealed under bogus marriage register. Rich naive rustics are screer these days.

There's still a crying need for instruction in the finer points of the detecting game, as I found out recently in a nasty encounter with the house-tees in a New York hotel. I used to recommend. They had plainly learnt their dialogue from those movies in which the hero, alone in a strange town, is set up, set upon, or set about by brutal and foul-mouthed hotel detectives: "We'll ask the goddam questions, buddy," was the goateal tenor of their discourse, interspersed with fraudulent accusations, unable to grasp that a faintly amnesiac English booklover might have a valid and non-criminal reason for briefly mislaying his whereabouts. I'm still waiting for the written apology, promised the next morning by a brilliantly indifferent management. I refrain from uttering the name of the hotel, which commemorates a US Statesman who rhymes in N. England with "daft" and here in the South with "graphed" - "oafed" and - rarely - "quafed".

Tiltonson has a chapter on thieves' slang, much of it pre-Dickensian, (glim, shiv, gam, stir, kip, cop, dos) and some of it improbable. Can "kicks" really mean "shoes" as well as "trousers" and "pockets"? Isn't "chroner" a mishearing for "schorre"? Did anyone ever use "oliver" for the moon or "lobster" for "a dead one"?

But he also says (with his characteristic ditto-graphy): "the expression that is probably the most common in this new language is hept or josph or jo hept as the user may deem it best to use it. Being hept to anything is knowing about it." One thief may say to his pal "Are you hept?" or "Are you josph?" or "Are you jo hept?"; his pal will say "I'm wise".

This isn't the earliest record of the word, though it's close: *OED* gives December 1908 for "hept", though "hip" in the same sense goes back to 1904. Tiltonson's derivation from the name of a know-all circus man is traditional, though by 1914 he had become a detective who operated in Cincinnati, and by 1940 a saloon-keeper in Chicago. The *OED* believes none of this.

You won't find "hept" in T. Baron Russell's *Current Americanisms* (nd but about 1895). Russell's qualification seems to be a distaste for variant speech that would give modern lexicographers palpitations: "of course the standard of good English is the same in both countries, and American writers of the first rank do not write, nor do well educated Americans speak, what is jestingly called 'the American Language'." Of "bonepi" and "boneyard" for "cemetery," he remarks "a couple of Americanisms characterized by more than usual elegance, charm, and good taste." He has a lot of condescending fun with "elegant" too, and supposed American euphemisms like "rooster" and "limb" though he can be meatily-mouthed himself. "Knocked-up always means *enroute* and is never on any occasion used to mean *fatigued*". What's more interesting is how many words are listed by him as American that were (British) now think of as just words: "bluff", "bluff", "bureau", "blacklist", "blizzard", "break the record".

I can't find the pamphlet (or another, *The New Fossilism*) listed in the British Library Catalogue. There are aristocratic Russells of all ranks, down to the humble Honourable Francis Rollo, author of *The Artificial Production of Persistent Fog*, but most of them in that way I have always found mysterious, become Bedford, Tavistock, Amberleys or Amphilis. There are unrelated Russells of Liverpool or Killowen, but one was a devout Bible Protestant and the other an equally loyal RC, and published works to prove it. Could T. Baron Russell be our man? Of course, he is no more a Baron than James Earl Russell, author of several enthralling books on German educational methodology, is born to the 'strawberry, or whatever the phrase is.

I can't expect to find "hept" or "movy star" in *The Second Barnhart Dictionary of New English* (by Barnhart, Steinmetz and Barnhart) which lists no word earlier than 1973, "lobby", "peter out", "non-committal", "alderwoman" ("jocularly used by the *Pull Mall Gazette* at the time of Miss Cons' election to the L.C.C. ... apparently without jocular intent from the Chicago *Inter-Ocean*"). The most unexpected word of 1895 is "movy stars"; but it means - think about it - "badlands".

This T. Baron Russell is a dilettantish sort of writer: a novel, *Borlase and Co. A Hundred Years Hence - an optimistic View, and Last Year, The Story of 1890*, published, reasonably enough, in 1891. He isn't, I think, the man I was to question in connection with a curious pamphlet, *The Case for Agnosticism*, Watts (nd 1890), whose author appears on the title-page as B. Russell. So much do argument and phrasing resemble those of Bertrand Russell at the age of sixteen (in the secret notebook of irreverent speculation he labelled "Greek Exercises") that I thought I had unearthed an unknown treasure; but an expert Russell collector put me right: in advertisements in the year's *Agnostic Annual* the author is called Baron Russell.

Among this week's contributors

LOBO CARVER's *War Since 1945* was published in 1980.

LINDA COLLEY is the author of *In Defence of Oligarchy: The Tory Party 1714-60*, 1982.

RICHARD COMBS is the editor of *The British Film Institute's Monthly Bulletin*.

VALENTINE CUNNINGHAM is the editor of *The Penguin Book of Spanish Civil War Verse*, 1980.

R. H. C. DAVIS is Professor of Medieval History at the University of Birmingham.

ALEX de JONAS's books include *The Life and Times of Grigori Rasputin*, 1982.

GEORGE D'ARCY is Professor of the History of Medieval Societies at the Collège de France.

ROY FOSTER's *Lord Randolph Churchill: A Political Life* was published in 1981.

COLIN GREENLAND is Fellow in Creation of Law at the North East London Polytechnic.

ROBERT HAWSON's *In Anger: Culture in the Cold War 1945-1960* was published in 1981.

J. H. HARTER is a Senior Mellon Fellow at the National Humanities Center this year and therefore Distinguished Historian in Residence in Louisiana.

LAURENCE HARRIS's *Against Criticism* was published last year.

GARRY O'CONNOR's *Ralph Richardson: an actor's life* was published in 1982.

DAVID HOLLOWAY is a lecturer in Politics at the University of Edinburgh.

JONATHAN ISRAEL's most recent book, *The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World, 1606-1661*, was published last year.

PETER KEMP's *H. G. Wells and the Cuckooing Ape* has just been published.

H. G. KOENIGSBERGER's books include *Estates and Revolutions and The Habsburgs and Europe 1516-1660*, both 1971.

ERIC KORN is an antiquarian bookseller in London.

EMMANUEL LE ROY LAURIE's books include *L'Histoire du climat depuis l'an mil*, 1967.

A. L. LE QUESNE teaches history at Shrewsbury School, and is the author of *Carlyle*, 1982.

JOHN HOPE MASON's most recent book is *The Irresistible Diderot*, 1982.

NEIL MCCORMICK is Ragius Professor of Law at the University of Edinburgh.

WILLIAM MCBRIEN is Professor of English at Hofstra University, New York and editor of the journal *Twentieth Century Literature*.

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W. J. WEATHERBY's books include *Squaring Off: Mallet v. Balfour*, 1977.

FRANK O'GORMAN's most recent book is *The Emergence of the British Two-Party System*, 1982.

I. J. PACHAROS is a Senior Lecturer in History at the University of Manchester.

PETER REBOOROV's most recent collection of poems, *The Apple Book*, was published in 1981.

NESTA ROBERTS's books include *The Face of France, 1976*, and *A Companion Guide to Normandy, 1981*.

ROGER SCRUTON is the author of *The Politics of Culture*, 1981, and *Ken*, 1982.

T. A. SHIFFEY is Professor of English Literature at the University of Leeds. His most recent book, *The Road to Middle-earth*, was published last year.

A. W. B. SIMPSON is Professor of Law at the University of Kent.

W. A. SPECK's books include *The Butcher: the Duke of Cumberland and the Suppression of the '45*, 1981.

HILARY SPURLING's *Handbook of Anthony Powell's Music of Time* was published in 1977.

F. M. L. THOMPSON is the editor of *The Rise of Shubirah*, 1982.

W. J. WEATHERBY's books include *Squaring Off: Mallet v. Balfour*, 1977.

to the editor

Professing Literature

Sir, - Anthony Burgess (Professing Literature, December 10, 1982) slapped the face of every professor in America; myself among them. His much-needed attack could reform Creative Writing.

Burgess mocks Creative Writing as "boring work", as "sessions in which girls recite... vers libre and are appraised by their friends ('Gee, that's great, Janice')". The colleges think the comes a "sinecure"... a professorial subsidy for serious writers, or a sop to any-enough types ("exhibitionists"). I'd add, judge any Creative Writing course by the number of Victoria Hotel, let alone T. S. Eliots, it produces, and there's no justification for it. "There is nothing", Burgess concludes, "of academic importance" that the professors' writer can give to the university.

Wrong, Burgess isn't there as a "lecture", he isn't even there to teach writing. He's there to create, like the other professors, not writers, but readers. Correctly used, Creative Writing is the great invitation to reading. A student who works backstage in films for a year will always return to them with heightened interest; the same goes for a student who works backstage in the novel or poem.

But more: Burgess grieves, as do we all, that departments increasingly "bare" offer only easy, "trendy" authors, and must abandon Pope or *Paradise Lost*. Mr Burgess, there lies the writing teacher's new importance. Why is your class listening to Janice recite *vers libre* when they could be listening to you recite Milton, and explain his poetics? The writer is one of the few liberal arts professors still in a position to bargain: Why didn't you say, "If you want to learn to create with words, you're going to learn rhythm by

## Professing Literature

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reading Milton, learn dialogue from *Hedda Gabler*, conclusion from Dante and Chekhov, point-of-view from Chaucer and James." Students you introduce to Chaucer this year, are more likely to enrol in Medieval Lit next year.

Or do you think they'll learn more about writing poetry from bearing Janice? Make Janice photo-copy her poems (call it "lab fee") so they can be read, as they should be, and marked up at home. You and John Milton need the class time.

The writing professor is one of the few liberal arts professors to whom the students will grant an audience. He can accept a new role, ambassador, and plead for the humanities, until the other professors are heard again.

Or he can go on listening to Janice.

GEORGE LEONARD.

14461-C Red Hill, Tustin, California 92620.

'The Logic of Natural Language'

Sir, - A brief reply to Professor Sommers (Letters, January 14) should suffice.

In my review I merely cited a pair of Leibniz texts handily available in C. I. Lewis's *Survey*, in English translation: serious scholars should of course read the texts cited in a good historical work, like the *Kneales' Development of Logic*, to have material for an informed opinion about Leibniz's theory of identity.

Sommers now says he never meant to ascribe to Frege use of a term meaning "atomic sentence"; but he frequently, without giving any reference ascribes to Frege theses about atomic sentences generally.

In discussing my attempt to get him into a "fool's mate" position, Sommers criticizes at length an argument he says I have in my review, about sentences of

the form "An A is a B and it is a C". No such example occurs in my review; indeed, I there say nothing at all about pronouns of back-reference, about which Sommers says I err. A better way of countering my "fool's mate" strategy would have been for Sommers to say: the "Boolean" quantified propositions "Ex.Fx" and "Ex.Fx" cannot fairly be treated as obtainable by uniform reading of the schemata "p.q" and "p-q". But this counter-move would block Sommers's own move on p197: he there appeals to "mere instances of propositional laws" as proving the equivalence of "Ex.Fx" and "Ex.Fx" and "Ex.Fx" and "Ex.Fx", which are indeed equivalent; and we are given no clue to what other "mere" instance of propositional laws Sommers may have in mind.

Much that Sommers says in his book is based on his attributing to me the view that "the genuine logical subject is definite and singular" (p371). In a *Mind* article in 1980, and in much of my later work, I have misstated the very opposite: as indeed I did in my correspondence with Sommers (see p35). He now seems to be acting on the motto: Never explain, never apologize.

PETER GEACH.

3 Richmond Road, Cambridge.

Gandhi

Sir, - S. N. Nanporia (Letters, January 7) suggests that in my review of the film *Gandhi* I put "constructive programme" in quotation marks to indicate that I thought it "idealistic hogwash" (her words). I used quotation marks because this was the term generally used for the programme by Gandhians and others. In describing it as a "heroic attempt to revitalize the Indian village on traditional lines" Mrs

Nanporia is in fact quoting my own words. However, I think it important to ask whether it was economically viable, and the extent to which Gandhian ashram itself and other such activities depended on contributions from Hindu millionaires is surely relevant. My point was that by ignoring such matters as Gandhi's relations with the great Hindu millionaires the film neglected such questions, and, indeed, a significant part of his life.

KENNETH BALLHATCHET.

School of Oriental and African Studies, Malet Street, London WC1.

'Potpourri from the Thirties'

Sir, - The generous review (December 24, 1982) of my *Potpourri from the Thirties* by so perceptive a critic as Alastair Forbes ought perhaps not to be looked in the mouth, but I am charged with careless spelling, by rendering "kolkhoz" as "Coll Hoss" whereas I was simply transcribing from my diary of 1936 (amusingly I thought) the sounds which had seemed to fall from the lips of our Intourist guide. In other places unconventional spellings from the old diaries were retained for the same kind of reason. As for "Hot-Lunch Johnson" my interest was in the angle of Vaughn's humour rather than in the identity of the person so nicknamed for his invitation to a hot lunch. It seemed to me best to conceal the identity under a pseudonym, though Alastair Forbes has now split the beans. But Johnson was no misprint.

I am however guilty of having misspelt my cousin's cousin the late Tom Goff, so justly celebrated for his harsh chords - a disgraceful lapse which Mr Forbes kindly passed over in silence. *Men culpa*...

BRYAN GUINNESS.

Bliddens House, Andover, Hampshire.

Groton House, 330 Dover Road, Walmer, Deal, Kent.

Jack Gallagher

Sir, - I think V. G. Kiernan in his review of Jack Gallagher's *The Decline, Revival and Fall of the British Empire* (January 7) is being rather uncharitable when he implies that Gallagher destroyed himself "by an unwholesome manner of living, including too much whisky". In the course of the last two years of his life, Jack underwent one amputation and was threatened with another. With great fortitude, he managed to come to terms with his artificial leg, negotiating the many steep steps leading to the Hall of his College. To the very last, he retained his good humour and his enormous sense of fun. He also continued to lecture right up to the last crisis. Your reviewer also misses the point about April 1, chosen most appropriately by Dr Seal for his preface; it was Jack's birthday; he never failed to remind his many friends that he was born on All Fools' Day.

RICHARD COBB.

165 Godstow Road, Wolvercote, Oxford.

Buer

Sir, - I should have checked on the spelling "bewater" in Partridge (Letters, December 24), especially since the Oxford supplement which I used gives this, along with "buor", as a possible spelling; but this does not affect the point I was making, which is that the word is unlikely to have been used by a Brighton racecourse gang in the 1930s. Partridge calls the word "rare and obsolete", and as I said, the only modern use given in the Oxford supplement is in *Brighton Rock*.

JULIAN SYMONS.

Groton House, 330 Dover Road, Walmer, Deal, Kent.

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# Generations of kings

Georges Duby

ANDREW W. LEWIS

Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on Familial Order and the State  
356pp. Harvard University Press.  
£25.90.  
0 674 7985 1

Not since the work of Joseph Strayer has research been done by an American into medieval France which is fresher, more pertinent or more stimulating than that whose fruits are to be found in this book by Andrew W. Lewis. Its singular merit, as the subtitle stresses, is to come at the subject from two different directions: the political – What is royalty? What was the State between the tenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century? – and the anthropological – What were the relations of kinship among the ruling class at that time?

Lewis has in fact started out from a very precise question which stands foursquare within the French historiographical tradition: for the past 200 years at least, the activities of the Capetians have been studied from the vantage-point of a France one and indivisible. Historians have thus tried to see these kings as the first artisans of French unity, building it patiently upon one place of territory at a time, like peasants. But there was in fact a break in this process of accumulation: Louis VIII split up what his father Philip Augustus had conquered and distributed the parts among his younger sons as appanages. How to explain this accident, which was, as it happens, repaired by succeeding generations?

By the time Lewis posed this question anew, historians had learnt from the anthropologists that one of the surest ways to increase their understanding of ancient societies was to examine family relations. He undertook therefore to look at the manner in which Louis VIII's ancestors had been married, had married off their children and had settled their succession. He soon realized that they had behaved like the dukes and the counts, like their neighbours, their relatives and their vassals; that since the time of Hugues Capet the royal office, that sacred, apparently elective *dignitas*, had been treated as an *honour*, as for several generations past had been the function of duke of France, of which Hugues was the heir, a function regularly passed down from the father to the eldest son, together with the whole of the ancestral patrimony.

At the advent of the Capetians, the aristocracy as a whole in northern France tended in fact to be organized in

lineages or dynasties, in *Geschlechten* as Lewis puts it (though why use this Germanic term, unless to pay homage to German historians like Karl Schmid and others at Tallenbach's pupils, who first demonstrated this mutation in family relations?). The Capetians, like all the princes of the kingdom (except perhaps the Norman counts; I think one might dispute Lewis's interpretation of the assertions of Dudo of Saint-Quentin), thought that the eldest son, designated to succeed them by the very name attributed to him at the time of his birth, should when they died replace them at the head of the household. They were convinced that the crown belonged to him by right, along with the domain as a whole. If they associated him with the throne and had him crowned in their own lifetime, this was not out of political weakness, or fear that the royal office might be usurped by another line, but in order to guarantee the rights of the firstborn against the possible claims of his brothers. They took care moreover, as good fathers, to establish their younger sons securely also, either by finding a place for them in the Church, or by marrying them to a rich heiress, or else by making over to them recently acquired possessions – without reducing the patrimony.

In the light of Lewis's researches, the reign of Philip Augustus appears even more clearly as a major step in the evolution of the French monarchy. Large-scale changes can be discerned then in the conception of the royal dignity, though succession practices continued unchanged, following the general rule. Louis VIII was still following this rule in 1223-25 when he dipped into his enormous paternal acquisitions and endowed all those of his sons whom he had not destined to the service of God. Forming appanages was not an accident, but a custom that was universally followed and incumbent on kings as on other nobles. Its application in the royal house was brought about by circumstances, but in the course of the thirteenth century it led, over the generations, to a necessary and progressive coalescence of the malea of the line, who were brought together by their respect for a moral imperative, by the feeling that they were co-participants, around the fleur-de-lys, in the virtues transmitted by their blood and, ultimately, all "sons of France", coheirs to the kingdom.

This evolution of affective relations within the lineage, accompanied by an exaltation of the royal function and the promotion of France above all the political formations of Christendom,

meant that the family of Capet ceased to be merely one family among others when, in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, it was solemnly declared that only one man could occupy the place of Saint Louis and Charlemagne on the throne of France. Up until that point its destiny had been drastically determined by family practices prevalent among the ruling class, and throughout the Capets' history these practices had constituted the formal framework of a political adventure.

Lewis's book thus anticipates the propositions recently put forward by French anthropologists, notably Maurice Godelier, for whom kinship structures in traditional societies are not to be classed among the "superstructures" but, on the contrary, taken as the true "relations of production". Without ever theorizing, Lewis provides the proof of such propositions; and brilliantly. He is well served by a dazzling erudition – he has read everything – and by the care he has taken to widen the field of his investigation, so that he gives attention not only to texts but also to images, whether over the arrangement of a genealogical tree on the manuscript of Gilles de Paris's *Karolus* or first Saint Louis's and then Philip the Fair's ordering of the tombs in the burial-ground of Saint-Denis. The book's interest is not limited to its meticulous and convincing analysis of a system which, over the centuries and in connection with a semi-liturgical power which set the sovereign apart from all other potentates, his rivals, brought into play a double social structure common to the aristocracy as a whole: lineage and the relationship of one man to another upheld by the *fief*. It is packed as well with valuable comments on myths of origin, on the attitude of Capetian kings to the prestige of their Carolingian predecessors, on chancery customs, and on the attributes of royal sanctity.

Of the reflections which Lewis's book has inspired in me I pick out three here as incitements to further research. The first concerns relations between feudal vassals. My own feeling is that the consolidation of the feudal right in the north of France, and consequently its decisive insertion into the armatures of the monarchical order, do not occur before the reign of Louis VII, which seems to me to confer an even greater symbolic value on the ceremony of 1190, when Henry the Young, son of Henry Plantagenet, an adolescent of thirteen and therefore already mature, knelt in homage before Philip, who was a child of three and a half only but heit presumptive to the crown. Second, bearing in mind Helgaud and Robert



Having it written all over his face, Louis (Known as Louis le Pieux or Le Débonnaire) submerged under pious words dressed in a half Germanic, half Byzantine costume in the manuscript of the poem De Laudibus Sanctae Crucis by Raban Maur, the abbot of Fulda. The illustration is taken from Le Moyen Age: les mondes nouveaux 350-900 by Robert Foster (1944, Paris: Armand Colin, 2 200 37045 6).

II, I would set an earlier date than Lewis does on the tendency to sanctify the royal dignity. Finally, I wonder whether the system so finely described in this book would have worked so successfully but for biological chance. What changed with Louis VII was that he had produced a number of sons who survived him. His father Philip, at the crucial moment, had had only a sister – he had a brother but he was the product of a reputedly adulterous union. A hundred years earlier, Louis VI had been in the same position. This being so, ecclesiastical censure and the transformations imposed by the Church at the end of the eleventh century on matrimonial customs also intervened in the functioning of Lewis's model. Nor should we forget that Philip the First, excommunicated

for a matrimonial indiscretion – and for that reason, much decried – wrote first sovereign to unite all his acquisitions to his inheritance, and so perhaps the first true "rassembleur de terres". We must not attribute too great a regularity, therefore, to the social mechanism. Smoothly running structures are liable to shock, following the intervention in them – whether voluntary or not, it is always fortuitous – of human agents. This excellent study of social genetics displays the interaction of chance and necessity.

It also places its author among the best medievalists of his generation. All historians would do well to read *Royal Succession in Capetian France*, as should anyone concerned with the relations between "power" and the evolution of human societies.

In the eleventh century, the transformation which Bates describes does denote something new, since it involved both the territorial localization of the nobility and a new hereditary system. Though it is probable that quite a large proportion of the eleventh-century nobility could have been descended from earlier noble kindreds, such as that of the dukes, it is known that there were also new families such as the Tosny, the Belaines, the Clouettes, the Palens, the Tessons or the Boquenches which sprang from men who had migrated into Normandy from other parts of France, or even Germany. In the explanation of their arrival is that they were attracted by the opportunities for acquiring land, since the dukes of Normandy, being engaged in aggressive wars, were happy to receive and reward men who were first-class warriors.

Bates will have none of this because he believes that the Normans had no war before 1050. The reason given for this belief is that the "Norman" necessarily Scandinavian but fitted into a wider French movement, but it is perfectly possible to agree with this statement about Italy, and yet insist that in and around Normandy itself the Normans did possess a "special and much quoted."

FERNAND BRAUDEL

Civilization and Capitalism 15th-18th Century: Volume 2, The Wheels of Commerce.  
Translated by Sian Reynolds  
670pp. Collins. £17.50.  
000216132 X

Here, once again, are the majestic vision, the exceptional breadth, the poetic touch and amusing asides which all historians know, and same cherish, in the work of Fernand Braudel. This volume, originally published in France in 1979 under the title *Les jeux de l'échange*, is the second in a series of three embracing nothing less than the entire social and economic evolution of medieval and modern Europe down to the Industrial Revolution. The series seeks to set before us the mechanics of several of the most decisive shifts in the story of mankind. The first volume, *The Structures of Everyday Life*, professed what Braudel calls the "ground-level of material life", the underlying and only slowly changing demographic and agrarian bedrock of pre-industrial society. In classic Braudelian manner, this second volume deals with the next level up, the medium-term, relatively faster shifts which, as the master sees it, need to be identified and separated both from the long-term movements below and from what lies above – the surface froth of mere events which form the uppermost story of the Braudelian edifice. The approach and terminology are familiar from Braudel's first major publication, *The Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, which received more lavish international acclaim probably than any other historical work published this century. With this new series, Braudel is pushing further along the path he showed us then. In effect, he has replaced our traditional concept of "history" with a very different conceptual framework, involving distinct biological processes, moving on diverse levels at various speeds. He has switched from "history" to "histories".

In this second volume, then, Braudel takes us to the world of markets, trade, transport and capitalism – a word which Braudel constantly uses but strips of its Marxist connotations. In accordance with his now famous method, he searches for "regularities", "cycles" and "mechanisms". Adamant that the key to grasping history is to uncover typical patterns, he presents a "general economic history" designed to be applicable to the whole world. The aim is a typology – he even uses the word "grammar" – which allows the systematic comparison of economic situations in different countries at different times. Above all, viewing history from the perspective of his much-vaunted *longue durée*, Braudel endeavours to pick out the main trends from the surface matter of events and short-term fluctuations. As always with him, "time is not respected in its chronological continuity", it is merely the neutral frame for his simultaneous processes.

Braudel has a passing acquaintance with the English and German literature as well as a more thorough grounding in the French, Italian and Spanish materials relevant to his subject. But that is all. Except for one or two items, he has not used the crucial Dutch literature or anything published in Scandinavian or East European languages. It is thus perhaps slightly unfair to point to the obvious weakness of his sections on the Low Countries. Yet it is undeniable that the Netherlands played a pivotal role, out of all proportion to its size and resources, in the unfolding of early modern European trade, transport and finance. Braudel scarcely even mentions Antwerp's hegemony in the entrepôt of northern Europe in the sixteenth century. Still more astounding, the role of Holland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is played down almost as much as that of the South Netherlands in the sixteenth. This drastic brevity is all the more odd in that Braudel himself is constantly telling us how important Amsterdam was, in many ways more so than London, even in the eighteenth century. The account of Dutch commerce, banking, shipping and colonial companies is absurdly brief, marked by error and rather simplistic. Some of the wrongly rendered names

## The forms of insurgency

H. G. Koenigsberger

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Volume 2: 231pp. £18 (paperback, £5.95).  
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Cambridge University Press

It looks as if a historiographical tide is turning. For nearly thirty years historians have tried to explain the crises, rebellions and revolutions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in terms of methodologies, theories and models taken over from social science. The effort has always been fascinating, sometimes historically convincing, but in the end inconclusive. We now have two major works which reject this approach root and branch. Y.-M. Berce's *Revoltes et révolutions dans l'Europe moderne, XVI-XVIII siècles* (Paris, 1980) does not even dare to discuss such theories or to bother with a definition of the tricky word "revolution". Professor Zagorin simply bypasses such problems by following the usage of traditional historians. Thus the revolt of the Netherlands and the English civil war are for him "revolutions" and any established authority is a rebellion. Having rejected any overall social-economic analysis, he constructs instead a whole series of neo-historical

and cultural generalizations on millennialism, siege mentality, the nature of violence and other aspects of revolutionary behaviour in early modern society. It is an essay in the *new histoire des mentalités* and as such perhaps not so much a "complete rejection of contemporary social science as a shift away from the models to the questions asked by social and cultural anthropology and social psychology."

Perez Zagorin is not only just as hostile as Berce to the now classical social science approach but he starts his book with a frontal attack on it. First, there is the word revolution itself. It has been virtually emptied of meaning, he argues, by being applied to any important change in almost any field, from the price revolution to the scientific revolution. At the same time, the Marxists and other progressively minded historians have invested the word with a teleological connotation which has introduced mythical value judgments into historical analysis. The result of these contradictory usages has been confusion, a confusion compounded by the erection of the French Revolution into a paradigm by which all other revolutions are judged or, in the case of the pre-1789 ones, given high or low marks for approach to its standards. Professor Zagorin has no difficulty in showing that there is no logical reason why the French Revolution should be taken as more paradigmatic than any other. Equally, he does not believe that the Revolution for this is a "category mistake", an attempt to distinguish the whole from one of its parts, "as one might try, for example, to distinguish violence from war or mammals from whales".

Zagorin is equally brisk in dismissing the modern typologies of revolution, from Marx to Sorokin and Chalmers Johnson. They all attempt a universal typology. But is this possible when both their functional analysis is based on a logical misconception and, in actual fact, revolutions occur in societies which have basically different structures and dynamics? The logical misconception lies in the notion of the equilibrium and disequilibrium of a society. If it is held that the non-revolutionary society is in equilibrium, this statement can only mean that it functions, which we know anyway, but not what the equilibrium is. We also know that every society has degrees of dysfunction, things which don't work. But when do they lead to revolution? The answer generally given is the J-curve or the phenomenon of disappointed expectations which, from Tocqueville on, has often been observed by historians to "precede a revolution". The J-curve, then, "might at most state a necessary condition for revolution, but only in the sense that this formulation is too generous. The J-curve is sometimes a condition of revolution but in other cases it is not, as Zagorin shows in some of his own examples. In other words, it is not a necessary, let alone a sufficient, condition of revolution."

To show that the revolutions of early modern Europe cannot be "simply classified according to, or covered by, a model of revolutions based on more modern experience, Zagorin gives us a short analysis of early modern society, a "society of orders" as distinct from the modern class society. This is not of course new; but it is a necessary exercise and it is very well done.

Having cleared the decks of theoretical confusion, Zagorin

with the golden age of the "Court Jews" and of Central European Jewry generally.

On Britain, Braudel is so shallow that I presume that no one will take what he says seriously. As one would expect, he is indeed more competent on his familiar terrain, that of the Mediterranean world. But is it good enough to go on reiterating, as nearly all of us do, that Braudel is the greatest living historian and that what he writes on the Mediterranean *must* be mastery? We have all been conditioned, by years of archetypal fantasies the world over, to applaud and praise Braudel first and ask questions – if at all – afterwards. The fact is he constantly stumbles over key issues and is prone to major errors in what he does say. It is a moot point, for instance, whether Braudel has ever said anything significant about the decline of Spain's trade, industry and shipping in the early modern period, but he certainly makes no attempt to enter into Spanish economic problems here. He discusses Portuguese economic penetration of Spanish America in the 1580-1640 period in some detail, suggesting that "without it, Portugal might not have reassessed herself in 1640, that is regained her independence from Spain". But this is to labour under a basic misapprehension. The Portuguese merchants in Spanish America were New Christians, often crypto-Jews, who for the most part had their links with Portugal. Their trading partners were in Spain, Italy and the Netherlands. Their families did not remit wealth back to Portugal where their background was known to the Inquisition. On the contrary, the whole trend among the New Christians was to extract wealth from Portugal.

The mistakes and distortions which abound in old Braudel's work are not so much incidental as inherent in his method. In his very approach to historical studies, for he will identify his long and medium-term patterns and cycles irrespective of events and policies, of political and military power. What confronts us in Braudel is a systematic disregard of the actions of statesmen and the impact of alliances, treaties and blockades. Occasionally

he stumbles awkwardly up against the fatal contradictions in his own method. The lasting shift of economic power from the Spanish Netherlands (Antwerp) to Amsterdam at the end of the sixteenth century he pushes aside as "in part a question of chronology and short-term economic climate". The breath-taking absurdity of such a remark will surely dawn on whoever pauses to decode the jargon. To my way of thinking it also neatly illustrates the reality that at bottom Braudel, for all his qualities, has an essentially unhistorical mind. His attempt to reduce history to a kind of geography is undoubtedly grandiose but I would seriously question how far it is either valid or helpful. The way forward, surely, is to relate events to processes not to separate them.

Of course, none of this will prevent *The Wheels of Commerce* being hailed along with the rest of Braudel's massive volumes as a consummate masterpiece. The dogma within the profession that Braudel is "Indisputably the greatest of living historians" emanates from an international chorus highly placed and numerous enough to stifle all objections. In reference to this latest volume, J. H. Plumb has even urged his colleagues to stand up and "demand a Nobel Prize for Braudel".

The poor layman may easily be forgiven for believing, since so many of our best known historians have affixed their imprimatur to Braudel's much advertised "greatness", that there can be no possible doubt about it. Yet the layman should pause to consider that, however distinguished in their own fields, few if any of the household names who acclaim Braudel in such ringing phrases have any expert knowledge of early modern European social and economic history. Whatever the senior professors in other fields of history may say, few if any scholars who do specialize in this subject are likely to regard this book as great or even impressive history. My own verdict is that it is mostly superficial and at times awful. What is more, our present compulsive urge as a profession to praise such work to the skies can in the long run reflect little credit on either our judgment or our erudition.

herel – and, finally, the four "revolutionary civil wars", the French wars of religion, the revolt of the Netherlands, the English civil war and the Fronde.

It does not make altogether easy reading. Without the ever-ready theories and comprehensive models of Hobbes and Trevor-Roper, or the elegant cultural comprehensiveness of Rabb, the reader is faced with a very long string of individual rebellions and revolutions. Zagorin presents them clearly and judiciously, with some well-chosen contemporary quotations and with due regard for the political theories of the revolutionaries. There are no surprises. Zagorin is admirably up-to-date in his reading, or was when he handed his typescript to the publishers. His judgments are always sensible, his criticisms of opinions other than his own are invariably well reasoned and courteous. His most controversial views are in his account of the English civil war, where he reproduces his earlier ideas of the polarity of court and country and where, predictably, he rejects the new revisionism which downgrades the effectiveness of the pre-1640 parliament.

Zagorin does not write a general conclusion and, in the end, I was left somewhat at a loss as to whether he had any except negative conclusions. But this is perhaps unfair. There are many partial conclusions and generalizations dispersed within the text. Perhaps, too, this book is precisely what is needed at this moment: an effective piece of demolition of too-injuriant theories, together with a workmanlike presentation of the evidence and of at least preliminary limited conclusions based on a genuinely comparative study of early modern European history.



## Constituent elements

Frank O'Gorman

JOHN A. PHILLIPS

Electoral Behavior in Unreformed England: Plumpers, Splitters and Stragglers

353pp. Guildford: Princeton University Press. £28.45. 0 691 05365 0

Probably no subject in modern British history has been as badly neglected and as seriously misunderstood as the electorate in the century before Reform. Swallowing whole the grotesque distortions of the radical propagandists of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, historians have proceeded to parrot the customary catalogue of absurdities: that the electorate was corrupt, that it was unrepresentative, that it was narrow and exclusive, that it was politically uneducated and that it was humbly deferential.

Seven years ago John Phillips completed a remarkable PhD dissertation at the University of Iowa in which he traced the electoral behaviour of some 15,000 electors in four constituencies at elections between 1761 and 1802. With sophistication and ingenuity, he devised a number of computer-assisted tests upon these data. During the past few years, Professor Phillips has published two articles derived from this material. At last, and with a few revisions for publication, the dissertation itself is now made available for the wider readership which it has always deserved.

What Phillips has to say about the electorate is of the first importance for studies of the Hanoverian political order and his book immediately becomes essential reading both for scholars and for students. Cutting through the generations of enervated

myth and prejudice, he demonstrates convincingly that the electorate was dominated by small, independent craftsmen who were fast coming to political maturity. Over one half of the electorate were men of this type, a further 15-20 per cent were retailers. And if one-tenth of the electorate came from the gentle and professional classes, a further tenth can be classed as labourers. In some places, at least, the electorate was a rough but fairly ready reflection of larger occupational and social structures. A complex and independently minded electorate like this was not easy to mobilize. Certainly, economic and social determinants seem to have provided little inspiration for electoral behaviour: religious and political considerations counted for everything.

Phillips shows beyond dispute that over the period covered by his book there was a steady increase in party voting among the electorate. Given recent revisions in the party history of the eighteenth century this is possibly no surprise. For Phillips, however, the parties are the decisive agencies for politicizing the electorate. Turn-outs were high and rising and elections were increasingly being contested on ideological lines.

In spite of the ubiquity of "patronage", therefore, the electoral system had plenty of life in it. It may have lacked some of the more formal mechanisms of representative democracy which appeared later in the nineteenth century but this very informality was in its own way invigorating. As Phillips recognizes, the distinction between nomination to a seat—where the electoral process was only a formality—and influence where an attempt was made to exert pressure upon electors—was quite fundamental. The latter was universal, the former quite rare. As he points out, the number of constituencies where both seats were consistently under nomination was small. He notices—but does not pursue—the possibility of an

aborted contest. The number of these was, in fact, quite large. At the general elections of 1806 and 1807, for example, the number of formal contests, eighty-six and one hundred respectively, needs to be supplemented by the number of aborted or abandoned contests, sixty-six and fifty-three respectively. Considerations such as these dramatically modify the type of conclusions which historians sometimes draw from the number of formal contests hastily stated.

Phillips's book goes part of the way, then, towards rehabilitating the unreformed electorate. Although it may seem churlish to cavil, the reader must wonder just how typical and representative his four constituencies

really are. Although the methodological reason for this choice seems plausible the fact remains that two large freeborn boroughs in east and south-east England (Norwich and Maidstone), one large householder borough in the east Midlands (Northampton) and one small scot-and-lot borough in Sussex (Lewes) omits a very considerable portion of the electoral nation. Just as damning, the terminal date of 1802 dilutes the significance of any generalizations made about the "unreformed" electorate. Whether the trends and developments so ingeniously identified by Phillips continue after 1802 cannot just be assumed.

There is, moreover, something of an

explanatory vacuum which results from the book's slightly narrow focus. Phillips is notably concerned with the party aspects of electoral behaviour. No doubt this is quite right, but it does not become clear how or why the traditional, locally directed party systems in the constituencies came to interact with the centrally directed party structures of the later eighteenth century. The still requires detailed exploration before the rise of party in the constituencies can be thoroughly understood. In spite of the battery of statistics masterfully deployed in this book, therefore, some central elements in electoral behaviour remain unclear.

## The opposition's organ

W. A. Speck

SIMON VAREY (Editor)

Lord Bollingbroke: Contributions to the "Craftsman"

223pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press. £27.50. 0 19 822382 6

The first *Craftsman* appeared on December 5, 1726, and for the next ten years Henry St John, Viscount Bollingbroke, was a regular contributor to its campaign against Sir Robert Walpole's ministry. Fifty-one of the essays which he contributed have long been accepted in the canon of his works. Now Simon Varey has added a further forty-nine.

The basis of his attributions is, however, debatable. Dr Varey argues that the capital letters A, C, D, N, O and R, which were appended to the essays in the collected editions of 1731 and

1737, identified individual authors, and that the letters O was Bollingbroke's signature. This method of identification has been dismissed by one recent authority as a meaningless game, while even Varey accepts two essays initialled C and D as Bollingbroke's, suggesting the possibility that they were misprints for O. The problem is that there is not much more to go on. Varey rightly eschews the dubious approach of establishing authorship by stylistic similarities, agreeing with Pope that "there is nothing so foolish than to pretend to be sure of knowing a great writer by his style". Yet external documentary evidence is extremely sparse. Occasionally contemporaries claimed to have inside knowledge of who wrote particular essays. A French translation of a *Craftsman* Extraordinary of June 30, 1734, is published here in an appendix, for although no original exists the translator attributed it to Bollingbroke. Combining through the dispatches of foreign envoys, many of whom were in touch with the opposition, might yield similar attributions. For example, Reichenbach, a Prussian resident in London, wrote to Berlin on April 14, 1730, sending a *Craftsman* Extraordinary which he claimed that Bollingbroke and Pulteney had written (Hull University Library, Hotham MSS).

A further problem is that the contributors to the *Craftsman* were not writing independently but formed an editorial team. They wrote joint articles, as Reichenbach observed and as the occasional use of double capitals in the collected editions apparently acknowledged. They also addressed themselves to the task of maintaining some consistency in the persona of the journal, and in the polemical stance which he adopted. This makes the isolation of individual essays not only a difficult but to some extent an artificial task. Those published in this edition, for example, forty-nine out of a total of 511 numbers which appeared between 1726 and 1736, seem to jump haphazardly from topic to topic, when in sequence they contributed to the development of a debate. A constant theme in the periodical, for instance, was the drawing of parallels between Walpole and previous allegedly corrupt favourites. The *Craftsman* never weaned of scouring the past for such examples, from Sejanus to the Duke of Buckingham. Numbers 137 and 139, for February 15 and March 1, 1729, related the history of the reigns of Elizabeth and James I, extolling the Queen and castigating the King. The parallel with the eighteenth century was driven home by referring to Salisbury, James I's Lord Treasurer, as "King Robbo". Bollingbroke, if he was indeed the author of the essay to number 142, defended the *Craftsman*'s employment of these precedents for the Robbocracy against ministerial objections to them.

Assuming that Varey has correctly identified Bollingbroke's contributions, it would have been worth while to have placed them in their overall context, and to have assessed how distinctive they were. In particular, it might have been possible to gauge how far Bollingbroke attempted to adapt Tory attitudes to the new situation faced by the opposition in these years. The *Craftsman*'s basic position was essentially that of a Country Whig. As

the dedication to the first collected edition proclaimed, "we have always passed under the denomination of Whigs, and argued upon the principles which that party hath formerly attributed to themselves." It claimed, however, that the ministry had apostasized from former Whig principles, while they were strenuously asserted by many others who have been reputed Tories. The title opposition was upheld by a traditional Whig philosophy, Walpole no longer supported. To most obvious way in which the *Craftsman* tried to substantiate its claim was in its unwearied assertion that the ministry was bent on increasing the power of the executive by means of corruption, while the opposition strove to restrict it to its proper sphere in the Constitution. In its early days, however, it also insisted that Walpole had reversed the foreign policy pursued by the Whigs from the Revolution to the death of Stanhope. Where his Whig predecessor had sought to ally with the Emperor to offset the threat which France posed to the balance of power, Walpole had allied with France against the Emperor. The *Craftsman*'s initial campaign was to criticize this reversal as being detrimental to British interests. Cabel D'Anvers, the fictitious editor who personified its politics, was so called to identify the journal with the Imperial cause.

Despite the claim that many Tories now shared former Whig views, those who had opposed the Grand Alliance in the War of the Spanish Succession, and welcomed the Treaty of Utrecht which ended it, must have had difficulties in adjusting to this opposition stance. Judging by its essays in this edition, Bollingbroke was one such. The panegyric on the Duke of Marlborough, in number 252 came clearly from the man who had been the Captain-General's arch-enemy in the last four years of Queen Anne's reign. His contributions on foreign policy have little to say about the advantages of an alliance with the Empire, and dwell much more on the importance of protecting Britain's colonies and commerce, concerns which Tories genuinely had in common with Country Whigs.

Dr Varey is clearly more concerned with the literary than with the historical significance of the *Craftsman*. His footnotes shed little light on many of the specific incidents mentioned in the essays which even specialists in the period will find unfamiliar. On the other hand, establishing the links between originals and noting variants between them and the collected editions, and clearly been a labour of love. While historians might have wished for more appearances of the first edition of the essays in this *Craftsman* edition, since the eighteenth century.

Thomas Spence, the Radical and reformer, is commemorated in two recently published selections of his writings. *Pigs' Meat: Selected Writings of Thomas Spence* (Edinburgh: Spence, 1982, £11.35) 0 19 822382 6. It appears with an introductory essay and notes by G. I. Gallop. *The Political Works of Thomas Spence* has been edited by H. T. Dickinson (154pp, Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Arrow, 1982, £11.35) 0 19 822382 6. It is a paperback, 0 19 822382 6.

## Metropolitan militants

F. M. L. Thompson

DAVID GOODWAY

London Chartism 1838-1848

333pp. Cambridge University Press. £22.50. 0 521 23867 6

Chartism has always been a rich source of democratic and working class mythology, and one of its most persistent legends is that a great popular movement was denied its chance of success by the weakness and apathy of a London which failed to turn out in determined support of the cause. In *London Chartism 1838-1848* David Goodway sets about this legend with a will, and succeeds in reducing it to its proper proportions. He shows the strongly Chartist line taken by many of the most important trade societies in London in the 1840s.

Goodway's method is to build up a detailed and complete narrative of Chartist activities and to allow this record to speak for itself in establishing London's credentials as a major Chartist centre in the 1840s, even though its people had been unmistakably lukewarm or indifferent in 1838-9. Piecing together this record and chronology of Chartist localities, the basic local associations usually inspired by a dominant trade and sustained by a local pub, of Chartist meetings and speakers, and Chartist demonstrations, has been a difficult and laborious task. It makes for a fairly laborious read, too. The dense thicket of references—475 of them for under eighty pages of text at this point—and the insistent attention to every detail are rather too close to the book's origins in a thesis for comfort, and only Chartist buffs eager to catch the name of each meeting and to celebrate the memory of every pub where Chartists once gathered are likely to appreciate the full density of the

account. The message, however, is well taken. In 1838-9, at the time of the first national Convention in London and of the first petition, meetings were thinly attended, Londoners would not turn out on the streets, and London workers showed no spirit or enthusiasm to match the provincial masses. In 1842 and 1848, by contrast, London workers redeemed their Chartist characters by impressive displays of militancy and unity, and indeed in 1848 metropolitan Chartism was at its most dangerous and insurrectionary at a moment when the provinces were rather subdued.

Neither of London's moods, in the event, did the Chartist cause any good. The most absorbing section of the book is devoted to investigating the maintenance of order, and concludes that the preservation of the peace and the containment of Chartism were chiefly due to the effectiveness of the Metropolitan Police. On the strength of his extensive original work on the police records and those of the Treasury Solicitor, which give vivid details of the prosecution cases against those charged with riotous behaviour, Goodway presents a graphic account of a succession of assemblies, some peaceable, some disorderly and violent, and of police methods of crowd control and dispersal. It is no longer particularly arresting to find that the police were regarded as class enemies by the populace, since their vigorous suppression of popular high-spirited games and diversions in the name of preventing public nuisance had already stamped them as the servants of property and middle-class morality, quite aside from their role in protecting established authority from popular protest. Nevertheless it is a salutary shock to find what a modern ring many of the features of the 1840s have: the accusations of police brutality; the stories of rough handling of innocent bystanders; and the crowds pelting the police with missiles picked up from road materials or torn from the buildings round the half-finished Nelson's Column. The post-Chartist century too easily induced the illusion

that a benign image of the friendly policeman was universally accepted until very recently.

Tough and unfriendly policemen are seen in action, breaking heads with their truncheons or riding down the crowds with their horses. In August 1842 they prevented an ugly situation getting out of hand when angry demonstrators were trying to stop troops getting to Euston to entrain for the provinces. In the great days of London and ready to defend major public buildings, it was the police who kept the peace on April 10, the day of the great Chartist meeting in Kennington Common, and in the aftermath it was the police who dealt with the lesser-known, but serious, riots of June 12, and with a number of smaller skirmishes plus some deadly earnest, if futile, insurrectionary conspiracies. The tense and highly-charged atmosphere of Bonner's Fields, Clerkenwell Green, Trafalgar Square, and Kennington Common is dramatically evoked, and almost convinces us that a Chartist triumph was frustrated by effective police action.

At this point, however, doubts arise. Was it revolution, or at least a complete breakdown of order, that was averted, or simply more broken windows in a suburb? And whatever it was that was frustrated, was it by the external agency of the police, or did it spring from within Chartism itself, or from the character and economy of London?

To be sure, Goodway does address himself to these larger issues, but it is to be said that while he is long on stirring description he is somewhat short on analysis. It is one thing to contend that the events of April 10 were wrongly dismissed as a fiasco in all the textbooks. There was a massive demonstration of support for the Charter at the Kennington meeting, and it is probably right that the turnout numbered something like 150,000, and certain that pro-government sources were being deliberately misleading in

order to belittle the movement when they claimed that only 10,000 or 20,000 were present. It is equally true that the government and the propertied classes took the meeting and the proposed procession to Westminster extremely seriously; they were thoroughly scared, and made quite another thing of it to imply that when the leaders called off the march and sent the crowd home it was a purely tactical decision not to risk a confrontation when there was a strong likelihood of physical defeat. It is just as plausible to argue that when the leaders backed down before a show of force this proved that their bluff had been called, and that neither they nor their supporters, however much they might have breathed fire, had ever had the determination to make the cause a fighting matter. This was not surprising, since Chartism was caught awkwardly between the tradition of eighteenth-century riots which sought to intimidate authority into better behaviour, and the organized trade union and labour movements of the nineteenth century which sought to change the structure of authority through the weight of disciplined pressure.

In any case it is somewhat inconsistent to suggest that if London had produced a powerful Chartist response in 1839 the cause might have triumphed; if the police and army could contain London Chartism in 1848 they could presumably have done much the same in 1839 if called on. The apathy of London in 1839, and the ferment in 1842 and 1848 are explained in straightforward cyclical terms: it is argued that the depression of 1837-9 was scarcely felt in London, although it was severe in the northern manufacturing districts, while in the depression of 1841-2 London had its full share of unemployment and hardship, and in the crisis of 1847-8 suffered intensely. That may well have

been so, but unfortunately little evidence is offered in support of this view and no explanation of such marked differences in the impact of depressions. The long section in the book examining conditions in the different trades is signalled as an economic history of London in the Chartist decade. It will be invaluable to labour historians, with its separate subsections on twenty-one different trades detailing the fortunes of their trade societies and establishing the differences in working practices, conditions, and wages in the honourable and dishonourable sectors of each trade. But it does not attempt to give an account of the metropolitan economy as a whole and fluctuations in its general activity. The message of this part of the book, indeed, is that what politicized the members and impelled them to take to the streets was the growing disintegration of the trade societies' hold over the labour market, working conditions, and wages. Outwork, sweating, employment of cheap unapprenticed and female labour, sloop-dealers, and shoddy workmanship were spreading in shoemaking, tailoring, hatter, cabinet-making, the building trades, in almost every skilled trade one cares to mention. The honourable society man were undercut, their wages were forced down, and they were deprived of work; no wonder they were aggrieved, restive, and militant. This, however, would seem to be a medium to long-term trend, not something which was present in 1842 but absent in 1839.

Clearly, more work needs to be done to establish the relationships between these deep-seated disturbances in the traditional structure of London's superior trades and the short term oscillations of boom and slump. Dr Goodway has put London firmly on the Chartist map but he has not yet drawn in all its features.

## The Old Corps's creed

Linda Colley

REED BROWNING

Political and Constitutional Ideas of the Court Whigs

281pp. Louisiana State University Press. £20.60. 0 8071 0980 0

Disraeli once remarked that state Whiggism in the mid-eighteenth century stank "in the nostrils of the nation". Professional historians have been more bland of phrase but no less dismissive. Whereas opposition ideology as expounded by Bollingbroke and his allies has received detailed and sometimes deferential analysis from H. T. Dickinson, Bertrand Goldgar and Isaac Kramnick, it often implied that the Walpole and Pelhamite administrations were sustained by patronage and graft and had no need of dogma. "I am no saint, no apostle, no reformer," claimed Walpole, delighting as always to shock his more timid supporters as well as his priggish opponents. But Reed Browning is not to be shocked. In this well-researched and interesting study, he boldly sets out to redeem and affirm the Old Corps's moral fibre.

He argues first that the Pelhamite opposition of the 1720s and 1730s was characterized by a "Catonian perspective". Caton the Censor, Cato of Utica and the essays of John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *Cato's Letters*, all represented the sort of stark, uncompromising concern for liberty which the dissidents wished to appropriate for themselves. The Court Whigs, retailed by espousing a rival classical hero who had published as well as perished, Marcus Tullius Cicero was sufficiently identified with liberty to soothe Whig scruples, but had tempered his libertarianism with enough flexibility, pragmatism and moderation to serve as an ideal antique apologist for Walpole and Pelhamite Realpolitik.

Having identified Ciceronian references in government propaganda and iconography—Natter engraved a medal with the Roman on one side and Sir Robert on the other—Professor Browning examines the constitutional ideas of five "representative" Court Whigs. They are something of a mixed bunch. We are given the worthy (Lord Hardwicke and Thomas Herring), the waspish (Benjamin Hoadly), the witty (the Old Corps's token androgynous, Lord Hervey), and the merely Whig (Samuel Squire). Diverse as these men were in office, temperament and intellect, Browning is convinced that they shared not only partisanship but also a utilitarian, even "crude but consistent theory of the constitution."

I am less sure. Certainly Browning is right to stress that Court Whigs held to a muted but distinctive brand of royalism. In contrast with oppositionists like the Pulteney brothers, who flirted with resistance and quasi-republicanism, Old Corps men were careful to commemorate the Restoration of 1660 as much as the Revolution of 1688. Certainly, too, all of Browning's sample Whigs evince a noticeably staid aversion to plebeian initiative: this is only to be expected, given that ministerial politicians could usually dispense with extra-parliamentary popularity. I doubt, however, whether the utilitarianism which Browning sees as central to Court Whiggery represented much more than the standard outlook and apologetics of all jaded office-holders and civil servants: that whatever government is best administered is best. Sometimes, indeed, the more ideologically void, as all men seek to rob the state, Archbishop Herring is quoted as reasoning, "I think one may as well keep to the gang in which we were first listed."

Browning is of course right to remind us that many MPs, polemicists and bishops between 1720 and 1760 were pro-administration out of conviction or Wall Street interest. But for two reasons Court Whiggery, as

described in this book is bound to appear a rather ill-defined creed. First, not enough attention is given to the content of parliamentary debates as distinct from the arguments of pamphlets, sermons and journals. Second and more seriously, although Browning argues (rightly in my view) that Whig and Tory loyalties remained potent up to the mid-eighteenth century, and although the main cause of this binary survival was the longevity of religious controversy, little attention is given to the religious content of Old Corps political attitudes. Thus, in his survey of Bishop Hoadly, Browning mentions but does not examine the Hoadly's views on the relationship between Church and State which fuelled the controversy over what was also what a Court Whig? Moreover, it is inappropriate for Browning to take J. P. Kenyon to task for exaggerating Walpolean Whiggery's moral breakdown, while side-stepping the weightiest evidence for the prosecution case—the Whig administrations' complacent neglect of Protestant dissent after 1719. Their persistent refusal to moderate the Test Act could usefully have been discussed, as could Browning's own verdict on Herring: "His public life was one long struggle against Rome and dissent"—a pragmatism to be sure, but Whiggism?

Finally, I would quarrel with Browning's monolithic Catonism and opposition to the Tories (as called themselves petriots with a capital C). Nor did they venerate any Caton—the classical variety was too republican, Trenchard and Gordon were too latitudinarian. Browning's neat and illuminating distinction between Catonians and Ciceronians describes not so much the divide between opposition and government, but rather the tensions within the Whig stranded on the desert island of enforced political exile and its ministerial majority comfortably entrenched in mainstream, mainland compromise.

## Extra-parliamentary activities

I. J. Prothero

EDWARD ROYLE and JAMES WALTON

English Radicals and Reformers 1760-1848

232pp. Brighton: Harvester. £18.95. 0 7108 0382 6

This is a narrative account of the various groups of reformers who pressed for extensive changes in the political system to make it a more representative and even democratic one. It deals with the early beginnings of radicalism, associated with Wilkes, and the conflicts with the American colonists, the more plebeian societies of the 1790s, and the rough more extensive campaigns of the first half of the nineteenth century, culminating in the Chartist movement and its final defeat in 1848.

There were two basic elements in the growth of radicalism. One was the development of techniques of mobilizing "public opinion", resting on an extensive and independent newspaper press that reported Parliamentary proceedings and on the platform—a series of public meetings which were fully reported in the press and brought pressure to bear on Parliament, largely through the device of petitions. This amounted to a dramatic expansion of the political nation of far more significance than the numbers who actually had the vote, and England became very peculiar in that extra-parliamentary campaigns were a vital and intrinsic part of political life. The other element was the conviction that small groups of people could effect a self-interesting way, and because they controlled Parliament by corruption, imposed legislation on the rest of the nation to finance this parasitism. The remedy was to secure the independence of the

House of Commons by such means as the exclusion of placemen, extension of the electorate to prevent bribery, and having more frequent elections to keep MPs accountable to their constituents. Radicals saw the House of Commons as being there not to help the government do things, but to raise grievances and stop it from doing things. Radicals thus had a strong negative element, seeking to remove corrupt, tyrannical and expensive institutions, cut government down to size, and so reduce its cost.

*English Radicals and Reformers* is certainly the most convenient recent chronicle of these events. James Walpole is a specialist on the Anti-Slavery movement and the radical societies of the 1790s, Edward Royle on anti-Christian movements and Owenism. These topics receive emphasis in the book, but not unduly, and it is on the whole only these sections that draw on much research material. Most of the book is based on a wide reading of secondary works. Its value is as a very serviceable and succinct survey of recent historical scholarship, commented on and used in a common-sense way from the vantage-point of broad familiarity with the politics of the period.

It is difficult to a volume of this size to do justice to the complexity and variety of radicalism, and several sections and discussions are rather brief. But two important dimensions in particular should have been looked at more fully. One is that the radical tradition was partly a tradition of action, with a number of established strategies and tactics, running from pledges for Parliamentary candidates to a general strike. Particularly important at certain times were the convictions that the authorities were violent, planning an unconstitutional reign of terror, and that the "People" had constitutional rights to bear arms and resist tyranny. Given such conditions, when public meetings were often thought to be in danger from a "Petition-type attack" which should

be resisted, the authors seem mistaken in seeing a stress on "constitutionalism" as a commitment to peaceful actions alone.

Secondly, there should have been more discussion of the social and economic bases of radicalism. The authors clearly rejected a reductionist or class explanation of radicalism, and the continuity of radical ideas and their appeal to different social groups, support this view. But radical demands are likely to have seemed to have some relevance to social and economic concerns. It is striking that in England in the first half of the nineteenth century political remedies were so often sought for social and economic grievances. Why was it that the State was so often seen as the enemy, as tyrannical, parasitic and predatory? The book would have benefited from addressing itself to this problem, and linking it with developments in the towns, the threats to communities, and the opportunities and encouragement which the political structure gave to attempts at change.

*Culture, Ideology and Politics* (368pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982, £10.95) is a new title in Routledge's History Workshop Series and edited by Raphael Samuel and Gareth Stedman Jones, contains some seventeen essays which "originated as an international tribute to the work of Eric Hobsbawm". The book explores some of the oldest questions in Marxist historiography such as "base" and "superstructure", art and social life and also newer ones such as the relationship of dreams and fantasy to political action. Subjects include Michel Foucault on "Ideologies and mentalities", Victor Klemian on "Tennyson, King Arthur and Imperialism", Christopher Hill on "The English Revolution and the English Revolution", Jacques Ruplik on "The English Revolution and the English Revolution", and Gareth Stedman Jones on "The Labour Party and social democracy".

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# Sayers of the last word

A. W. B. Simpson

ALAN PATERSON  
The Law Lords  
288pp. Macmillan. £12.  
0 333 23885 9

A massive corpus of literature has developed around the workings of the American Supreme Court and the justices who have constituted that remarkable institution. Some of it is highly technical, but some in contrast is popular or even scintillating, for the brethren decide issues of great political and social importance, operating within a system of broadly defined constitutional rights. Our final court of appeal in this country is the House of Lords, but neither that court itself nor the individuals who have sat in it have generated the interest which comes from their American counterparts. Nor is this surprising for, as a judicial body, the House of Lords under the British constitution does not occupy anything like so important a position in the scheme of government. It is concerned merely with the fine tuning of a legal system which is no longer an independent force in the state, but merely an instrument of bureaucratic departmental power.

Fine tuning is what barristers are engaged in when handling contested litigation and so, from their viewpoint, the tuners are the people who matter. To the public generally they do not matter; only very occasionally as in the recent dispute over the subsidizing of fares on London Transport does a legal decision of the Lords attract widespread attention. When this does happen, the public imagines the Law Lords to be taking some important stance on the economics of transport in London, a view which the Law Lords correctly deny - their job is simply to split legal hairs. Were the judicial powers of the Lords to be abolished tomorrow, as they nearly were in the 1870s, no major constitutional or social change would have occurred; the Court of Appeal would enjoy a slightly enhanced status in those circles in which its status matters.

But even if the Law Lords do not resemble at all closely in function the justices of the Supreme Court, they do, in a handful of cases annually, enjoy the last word, and to litigants and their advisers the last word is important. Alan Paterson's study, concerned principally with the period 1957-73, is the latest addition to the modest list of books analysing their achievements, a literature which includes L. Blom Cooper and G. Drewry's *Final Appeal* (1972), R. Stevens's *Law and Politics: The House of Lords as a Judicial Body 1800-1976* (1979), R. F. V. Heuston's *Lives of the Lord Chancellors 1885-1940* (1964) and less scholarly, more polemical items such as J. A. G. Griffith's *The Politics of the Judiciary* (1977). The theoretical basis of the study is sociological, and is fairly accurately encapsulated in the blurb on the dust-jacket, as 'How Britain's Top Judges See Their Role'. The analysis, however, ranges somewhat more widely than this would indicate, discussing among other matters the interaction between bench and bar, the practices followed in reaching agreement or disagreement and in preparing opinions, and the methodological problems of role analysis as illustrated by the research undertaken. As well as consulting the more obvious documentary sources of information, Mr Paterson has made extensive use of interviews, with both dock and co-operative Law Lords (though some, less docile, declined to be interviewed) and with barristers engaged in appellate work. Neither solicitors (perhaps the thought) litigants feature at all, in tacit awareness of the fact that in the world of legal last rites they hardly matter.

What emerges from this is both an interesting account of how the system works - or at least as thought to work by the high priests themselves and their acolytes - and a curious picture of what individual Law Lords suppose to be their function. To have persuaded so many senior lawyers to have co-operated to such an investigation is in itself an achievement; were he to turn to diplomacy Paterson would surely have a bright future.

Books need a hero and a theme, and the character of his evidence presented

Paterson with problems in his search for them. As hero he settled, understandably enough, on Lord Reid of Drem, a Law Lord for some twenty-six years (1948-74), who became a major figure in the eyes of the bar but remained virtually unknown to the public at large (the occasional publicist apart, judges only become well known when they put their foot in things, eg. by putting rapists on probation or by presiding over committees or commissions of enquiry). The theme is Lord Reid's achievement in articulating and selling to his colleagues, with at least some success, a coherent, thought-out view of the proper limits of judicial law-making. Of central importance here is the interpretation placed upon the so-called Practice Statement of 1966. Back in 1828 (or perhaps 1861) the Lords announced that they were legally infallible, in the sense that they were bound to follow their own previous decisions. In 1966 they announced that they were not infallible and being unable to think of any intellectually satisfactory justification for this constitutional volte-face, they had recourse to the language of

double-think, and called it a matter of "practice" (like wearing wigs or starting at 10 a.m.). This event, though exciting to the bar, did not I think make the nine o'clock news, and since this recantation the Law Lords have had some trouble in deciding when they can change their minds and when they would be inappropriate to do so; and Lord Reid had some influence on producing an uneasy consensus.

Lurking behind Paterson's discussion is the idea that the Law Lords, occupying the elevated position they do, ought to possess some clear vision of their place in the scheme of government, and some idea, in particular branches of the law, of where they are going. But what seems to emerge from this study is a picture of confusion, not of pattern. Even in the one branch of the law still dominated by judicial opinion - criminal law - the achievement of the Law Lords has been deeply unimpressive. The fault, if there is one, may lie in the intense individualism of the English barrister, which, carried through to the bench (especially one of fluctuating composition), tends to produce a court of undisciplined prima donnas, unable

to co-operate and compromise, or at in a collegiate spirit. Paterson's description of the processes by which decisions are taken and opinions written brings out this characteristic of the Law Lords peculiarly clearly; they can hardly be blamed for an inability to change the habits acquired through a lifetime of court-centred legal practice. Paterson also documents another weakness built into the system - the tendency to intellectual isolation. The senior appellate judges of America are protected from this by the intervention of the law clerk, which, at its best, continually brings the wise old ones into contact with the bright young ones, fresh from the law schools, used to their mutual benefit.

But, in the absence of any commitment to a theory of rights, the word does not even appear in the index; it is hard to see how the Law could assert themselves further, and pessimism might view Mr Paterson's fascinating study as an account of a body staffed by individuals of great intellectual ability whose grasp within the legal profession bears the relationship to their very modest role in British Government.

## At the side of the accused

Neil MacCormick

DAVID NAPLEY

Not Without Prejudice  
445pp. Harp. £13.95.  
0 245 53799 6

Had Sir David Napley, like the redoubtable Mr Herriot, received his professional training in Glasgow rather than London, he would perhaps have called his book of memoirs "All Punters Great and Small" (and would unquestionably have realized that England is neither a country within whose limits one can walk from Land's End to John O'Groats, nor one of which Clement Attlee was Prime Minister). Certainly the punters whose gambles with the justice gave him the benefit of Sir David's guidance have ranged from the great and famous, Sir Thomas Bessam or Mr Jaramy Thorpe, to the humble and obscure, Mr Michael Luggie or the three young men on whom offensive weapons were planted by the police, their names being cleared and pardons granted only years later after the Mars-Jones Inquiry.

The man who emerges from this book (memoirs cannot but reveal more of the rememberer than of the events and personalities remembered) is one whose skills as attorney at law anyone accused of crime or tangled up in civil litigation would be more than lucky to secure. In a world in which, all too often, accused persons on run-of-the-mill charges get little more from their lawyers than run-of-the-mill advice, advocacy and pleading in mitigation, Sir David stands out as a shining exception by his preaching as stated and his practice as revealed here. His meticulous and hard-headed preparation of cases, his insistence on checking his client's story where possible, his readiness to inspect the scene of an alleged crime to person, his legitimate exploitation of criminal proceedings, his taking seriously the proposition that "instructions" rather than a wodge of papers are what he gives to counsel - all this, and more besides, indicate the dedication with which he has served both his clients and the cause of seeing justice done according to law. Not that he is unwilling to admit to having made mistakes - indeed, in the course of defending himself against the criticisms of *Private Eye* and *Australian* which for his method of conducting the defence, he rather charmingly drew attention to certain mistakes he does think he made while spiritedly rejecting the actual accusations heaped upon him. In the same connection, more importantly, he adds a persuasive defence of his client before the bar of defence, he and counsel conducted against the indictments at law.

Whether the paragon of the solicitor's craft who appears from these pages is identically the same person as the author, whether the meticulous standards of lawyering which here emerge have been evident for every one of his clients, are matters upon which it would be impertinent to speculate in ignorance. One may suspect that there is a real identity, for what seems obvious beyond any question is that Sir David is a man with a powerful sense of individual justice. When that sense is aroused by the affairs or misfortunes of a particular client, no stone seems likely to be left unturned in pursuit of the just result as it appears to him.

It may then be something of a paradox that at the level of the most general issues of justice the author reveals what might almost be called a complacent and unreflective Toryism. This is not to say, of course, that being a Tory is incompatible with having a general and reflectively established conception of justice. Yet the man who so scathingly demolishes the intolerable conclusions of and the intolerable practices revealed by the Steve Biko inquiry; the man who with the help of Sir E. Fletcher, MP, unmasked the police malpractices revealed by the Mars-Jones Inquiry; this man seems too easily to assume that the wrongs he had tried to right are more in the way of isolated hiccups in a world on the whole reasonably ordered than particular evidences of more general disorders abroad.

Or is this comment itself unfair? Sir David, as his book reveals, has by no means been a slacker in pressing for reforms in criminal law and procedure. Of all the things he advocates in the book, none is more firmly pressed than the case for creating some more effective final forum than presently exists for correcting the particular cases of injustices through wrongful conviction which the present English and indeed any humanly contrived system of criminal adjudication will unavoidably throw up, however infrequently. His strictures on, for example, the injustices to individuals capable of arising from Department of Trade inspectors' reports on the affairs of companies and the conduct of their directors are as trenchant as one can imagine anyone putting. And the evidence he offers is strong.

On reflection, therefore, the comment is unfair. The author has his own grounds, by no means negligible, for his commitment to the general lines of the existing system for doing justice within that, he has a sharp eye for injustice, and no hesitancy in making his point. The point is perhaps the more telling for the generally establishmentarian views of his maker. Nor can anyone with a belief in the virtues of a system which rightly allows the most vigorous defence of those accused of even the most abominable wrongs fail to rejoice in the sharp and measured response here offered to Sir Robert Mark's late defamations of the legal profession.

That it is the solicitor's branch of the profession which provides the meat of the Napley Memoirs is indeed, as he observes, a distinctive feature of the

book, if a little less so to Scots than English eyes. The public conception of the life of the law has been more based on tales of bench and bar than on solicitors' work, and it is to that extent thoroughly distorted one. Sir David's intensely readable though not always stylistically polished account of and mind (more noticeably) criminal cases from the perspective of the lawyer who deals directly with the lay client and sees him or her through the legal mine from start to finish should be welcome as helping to correct a profoundly imbalanced public perception of what lawyers in the main do. Even if there is sometimes a certain flavour of some drooping, and even if Sir David's kindness as a human being leaves one gasping for a hard word about some among the luminaries of the law, the virtue of the solicitor's readiness wholly to involve himself in his client's business shines through the whole text. If we still admit plain tales from the conveyancer's chambers, we perhaps do so with breath somewhat less bated than heretofore.

This review began by making comparison with the "Yet" books of James Herriot. The comparison is apt, not is it intended as uncomplimentary. When someone tells well the tale of a life's work in a profession which engages with practitioners with the fortunes of others (or their pets and livestock) there will not likely to be high literature, but it is likely to be compulsive reading and likely to be not only but not for its quality. Sir David Napley's *Not Without Prejudice* is a welcome and highly readable addition to the literature of the law.

**NORMAN HARTLEY**  
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John Railton, President of the World News Agency, is fighting to preserve the integrity of the agency, threatened by the obese and villainous Paul Solitaire, and simultaneously defending himself against the charge of being a Soviet agent who has sold the secrets of the latest Western missile system. Fluent and exciting, but only really credibility if read at ultra high speed.

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*The Phantom Factor*  
236pp. Allinson and Busby. £7.95.  
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T. J. Bayne

ART

## Posers and painters

Robert Hewison

FRANCES BORZELLO  
*The Artist's Model*  
178pp. Junction Books. £13.50  
(paperback, £6.50).  
0 86243 068 3

LIAM HUDSON

*Bodies of Knowledge: The Psychological Significance of the Nude to Art*  
163pp. Weidenfeld and Nicolson.  
£12.95.  
0 297 78117 0

Frances Borzello has written her history, *The Artist's Model*, in order to explore the stereotype of male creator and female subject, and to explode the myth that the relationship between them is governed by a heavy mixture of artistic inspiration and sex. This she does by assembling the relatively limited number of facts that can be gathered about the profession of modelling. The job itself has changed little since the newly founded Royal Academy hired four male models in 1768, and it is likely that studio practices had changed little in the preceding centuries. Borzello describes the mundane realities of modelling, pointing out that it has been as much a male as a female occupation, and that in the heyday of modelling, "character" models were as much in demand as those with beautiful bodies.

The account is a useful, though rather small, service to art history; even while challenging the cultural and sexual myths that surround the artist-model relationship, Borzello shows that they are more interesting than the reality. She demonstrates how they have evolved through the evidence of literary accounts, specific paintings of the artist and model, and general witness to cultural change such as the cartoons in *Punch*. She appears to have made a thorough trawl of potential

sources of information, but relies on a narrow range of references. Her conclusion is that the relationship between artist and model has almost always been one of exploitation.

While the casts [of sculpture] helped keep models in their place in the eighteenth century, the artists' patronizing attitude towards their models' stupidity, amusing antics and social aspirations achieved this aim in the nineteenth. On top of this, female models had an extra slur on their status with which to contend, one which was all their own: their alleged connection with sexual immorality.

The discovery of the imaginary land of Bohemia in the latter part of the nineteenth century led to a change of position, at least for the females. "Bohemia" turned models into women, but the change in sexual status was only from that of prostitute to mistress, and this is still the abiding image of the relationship. Some artists, however, have made enterprising photographic use of the model. Just as Bohemia was being mapped out, Courbet, and then Manet, broke the voyeuristic convention of artist-looking-at-model by moving her to the artist's side of the easel (as Courbet's "The Studio" or asserting her individuality (as in Manet's "Olympia"). Borzello reads this as an attack on another oppressive male fantasy, "the angel in the house" who would not have the confidence to return the (male) spectator's stare; in the twentieth century the model has achieved some status as a subject in her own right.

Although Borzello alludes to feminist painters who "have examined models too", she gives no account of their conclusions or examples of their work. This is unfortunate, for they might supply the imaginative analysis which *The Artist's Model* so conspicuously lacks. The book stops short at precisely the point where the question of the creative relationship between artist and model becomes

interesting. While it is true that in general models have earned less than the artists who painted them, it is difficult to see how things could be otherwise. Borzello may protest at the "patronizing" stories of artists who complain that models turn up late, fidget or fall asleep, but surely models (of either sex) are hired not to do these things. As to the charge of sexual exploitation, either actual or in terms of the economic power of male over female, her complaint is against the culture, and not its artefacts. It is true that some cultural products tend to reinforce a culture's economic practice, but others subvert it. Her own account shows that male paintings of female nudes have done both, but to treat them purely as sociological evidence is to look at the picture with one eye closed. To attempt to redress a non-existent balance by implicitly asserting a kind of "model's liberation" is absurd.

For a discussion of the mysteries of what is in fact a triangular relationship - artist-model-spectator - we must turn to Liam Hudson's *Bodies of Knowledge*. Not only is Hudson male, he himself takes photographs of naked females, as illustrations in his book testify. He is Professor of Psychology at Brunel University, and psychology forms the framework for a thoroughly art-historical discussion of Frances Borzello's stereotype, male images of female nudes. Hudson is aware of the ideological significance of the fact that most artists are male and most nudes female, and he acknowledges the feminist case, but that his text contains more female than male bodies "results not from feeling chauvinism, but from a historical fact". His study is offered as "a conjecture about the way in which the imagination works", images of the human form are "containers of reference" through which we are able to explore our ambiguous identity. As a psychologist, he argues that our identity is not based on a simple binary opposition of male and female, and that the various combinations of sexual function, dominant or submissive role

and object-choice are capable of sixteen-fold variations which almost inevitably lead to contradictions and ambiguities in our make-up.

These contradictions are often the subject-matter of art, and Hudson offers an ingenious explanation of why John Ruskin should have chosen to champion Turner. Crudely summarized, Turner, painter "of the sublime and of the disastrous", was a means by which Ruskin tested "the boundary that we all draw around ourselves in order to stay sane". In particular Turner's "Slavers throwing overboard the Dead and Dying - Typhoon coming on", which Ruskin first owned, and then sold as "too painful to live with", was a means by which he was able to explore his own psychological state.

Hudson's discussion of Ruskin's psychological needs as a spectator leads into the question of the function of image-making, as it affects both artist and spectator. There follows a fascinating discussion of the mutual influence of painting and photography. Photography freed painting from dependence on literal truth, and made it more aware of its formal properties, while the interest of painters in the figure as a subject declined. More recently, through Pop Art, the body has been reclaimed by painting but "in quotation marks", while photography has won the right to the formal considerations that were once given only to painting.

Like Borzello, Hudson sees Manet's "Olympia" as a turning point in the history of the nude. Though constantly complaining of the anonymity and lack of information about artists' models, Borzello thinks the fact that we know that the model is Victorine Meunier "has little effect on the viewer's understanding", even though she later remarks on the power of the nude's individuality. It is as if the naming of the model is one more male act of possession. Hudson makes the same points about the challenge of the model's stare, but goes much more deeply into its meaning: the invitation

to the connoisseur to see himself as voyeur. The pose, he suggests, echoes contemporary photographic stereoscopic photographs.

With the discussion of the relationship between artist, model and spectator, Hudson moves back into the field of psychology. He admits that the artist-model relation is often "predatory" but offers other examples where the interaction is more subtle: Degas, who painted in brothels but had few contacts with women, who sympathized with them, and yet feared them; Bonnard and his wife, and the relations between the photographer Edward Weston and his models.

Hudson argues that there is a dynamic relationship between painter and painted, and in doing so reclaims the model's place far more effectively than Borzello. The flaw in the underlying argument of *The Artist's Model* is revealed when he writes:

among the politically radical, it is sometimes assumed that this collusion of artist and model is inherently discreditable... This prejudice, detectable, for example, in John Berger's writing, rests on an assumption that is almost certainly false, namely that relationships must be symmetrical (rather than reciprocal) before pleasure can properly be gained from them.

In the imaginative relationship the artist will always remain more or less in charge (this is the essential difference between a nude and a portrait, where by tradition the sitter is also the patron), but artist, model and spectator interrelate separately and collectively, and are joined by a fourth element, the image that all three enjoy. In psychological terms, a artist, spectator and model explore their ambiguous fantasies. Free of the linear distortions of narrative, the still images of the artist or the photographer offer the psychologist, or for that matter the art historian, far more fruitful frames of reference than we have yet come to recognize.

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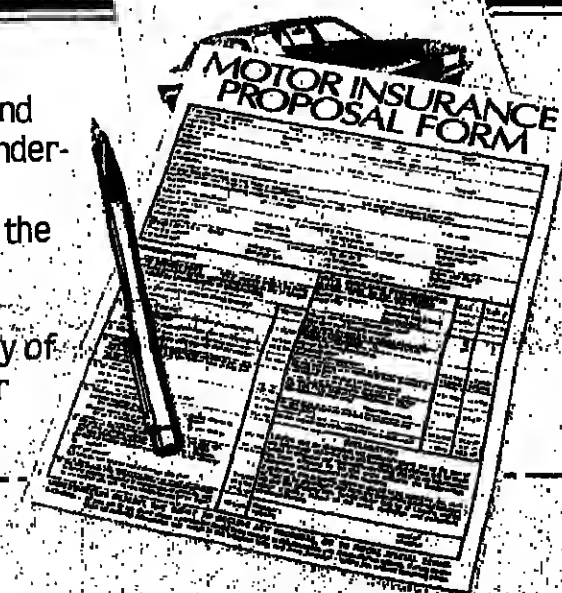
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